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THE *br L*
MEXICAN PAPERS,

CONTAINING THE

HISTORY OF THE
RISE AND DECLINE
OF
COMMERCIAL SLAVERY

IN

AMERICA,

WITH REFERENCE TO THE FUTURE OF MEXICO.

BY

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

NEW YORK:

RUDD & CARLETON, 130 GRAND STREET.

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By EDWARD E. DUNBAR,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the
Southern District of New York.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

OUR experience in the publication of the MEXICAN PAPERS has been eminently instructive. In Mexico, the numbers already issued have been translated into Spanish, and they appear to meet with much favor there.

The following is an extract from a letter written by a prominent Mexican residing in Vera Cruz, to a gentleman in this city, relative to the publication :

“ Mr. DUNBAR’S writings on the affairs of Mexico are certainly the ablest that have appeared, and they are highly valued here. The MEXICAN PAPERS reveal some startling points even to our own people, and this is an example how an intelligent foreigner can sometimes tell a people important truths which they do not learn among themselves.

“ The representation Mr. DUNBAR makes of existing erroneous public opinion abroad on Mexico, his vivid picture of the evil rule of the priesthood, and his clear and fixed convictions that Mexico never will be appreciated abroad or have peace and prosperity at home until the power of that priesthood is completely destroyed, are all living truths which come home to us here, and which must be followed up and acted upon by the whole nation, with no thought of compromise or grounding arms until this end is gained.”

In this country we discover that the facts and sentiments contained in the MEXICAN PAPERS are entirely opposed to favorite theories, pre-conceived opinions, and deep-rooted prejudices respecting the great questions of which they treat. We also discover that the publication does not pander to the wild political delusion of the masses--a delusion that has caused 30,000,000 of people to stand up before the world, and in the height of their material and political prosperity, deliberately commit national suicide.

But we have evidence that the MEXICAN PAPERS are exciting much thought, and we take great encouragement in the fact that a goodly number of “ men of mind,” into whose hands the publication has fallen, are enthusiastic in its support ; and it is anything but discouraging to meet with con-

siderable ill will of a bilious cast, and of that peculiar bigoted and despotic character which, if it had the power, would crush out everything opposed to its own narrow views and sentiments. This has been evinced principally by those who, while opposed to freedom in Mexico, pretend to live in that fear of slavery in this country which the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine inculcates.

We have been taken roundly to task by friends and acquaintances—some of whom, doubtless, have our good at heart—for espousing the cause of the Liberals of Mexico, whom they characterize as bands of murdering, plundering, half-civilized Indians; and for running the Mexican question into American politics, by which we were led to come out in opposition to the republican view of the *status* of slavery, and to foreshadow trouble to the country in the event of the election of Mr. LINCOLN as President.

Now, we may be permitted to ask, How stands *Mexico*? The factious church government in the capital has most ignominiously fallen; the liberal, constitutional government in glorious and orderly triumph occupies its place, and tranquillity is beginning to prevail. How stands *our* country—that effulgent galaxy of sovereign States, which, but a few short months ago, shone so resplendent in the political firmament? Lost! Lost!! Torn from their high estate and hurled into eternal darkness by the Demon of Discord. The light of constitutional liberty fades in the land of WASHINGTON and dawns in the mystic realms of the Aztec.

Having obtained, by personal observation and experience, what we believe to be a correct insight into the Mexican question, and its important bearing upon the politics of the United States, we could not remain quiet and see the deliberately fabricated statements and falsifications of truth, seized upon by our politicians, and used in such a way as to mangle and torture the whole subject to the ruin of the country. Seeing clearly, as we conceived, the right and the wrong in this matter, and impressed to a painful degree that the wrong was being pursued, we gave vent to our statements in strong

and unequivocal language, and now, though the progress of events day by day convinces us that our position is correct, we stand awe-struck at the magnitude of the revolutionary drama now passing before us, and we feel more incompetent than ever to grapple with those questions of surpassing import to mankind, which are involved in the recent stupendous political developments in the northern portion of this continent. But we are constrained to continue to contribute our mite of information, in the sincere hope that it may be productive, in some degree, of public good.

The following is an extract from a letter we received from a distinguished and highly respected source, dated Washington, Jan. 20th, 1861 :

“ In Number 4, you do not speak of our Federal Constitution as a ‘compact with hell,’ but you say, ‘*our fundamental written law* is, in one respect, against the operation of the common law of nations and of society, and under the pretence of remedying the great national evil that has grown out of that error in our written fundamental law, we do a still greater wrong in this more enlightened age by deliberately ignoring the operation of the common laws of nature and society, and force an unnatural result which brings dissolution, disorder, and internecine wars, terminating at last in national ruin.’

“ These remarks have opened up a new train of thought in my mind, but I do not arrive at the clear comprehension of the matter which you, doubtless, entertain. Will you explain? The general tenor of your pamphlets is thoroughly condemnatory of the abolitionist proper, and you show no favor to either of the great political parties of the day. It is evident that you are strongly opposed to slavery, and yet you repudiate the Republican platform. You consider the Constitution defective, and yet you appear to be a strong Union man under its provisions. If it is not asking too much, I would like to know what party you sympathized with at the last Presidential election, and what line of policy you advocate in the great crisis now upon the country.

“ The great amount of new and valuable information you have given on Mexican matters, has excited my interest to know what you have in reserve relative to some of the corollary political points not fully explained, if it is not too foreign to the main subject.”

It is utterly impossible to do justice to the topics under discussion in the limited pages of this series of papers. Upon some points we have spoken fully and decidedly, while others, which our correspondent terms “corollary

political points," have been brought forward without explanation. We can also comprehend that those who read the MEXICAN PAPERS are puzzled to know where to place us politically, as political matters go in these days. Our position is isolated, we confess, but if there is any one source of comfort open to us in the midst of prevailing anxiety, doubt and depression, it is in the fact that we stand aloof from what we term the great political delusion of the day, and that we have no claim to the sympathy and support of the prevailing political forces which have destroyed the prestige, power, and glory of our common country.

It has been our intention to enlarge somewhat on the most important political topics co-relatively brought up in the preceding papers, before the close of the series. To explain, therefore, to those who feel interested, as well as to answer such inquiries as those contained in the letter from Washington, we propose to set forth what we term THE RISE AND DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA. It has also been our intention to touch upon this subject, with reference to slavery in Mexico, before the close of the first series of the MEXICAN PAPERS. But owing to the exigencies that have recently risen, requiring all the information on the subject that can be brought forward, we are induced to devote more space to this object than was originally intended.

In view of the fact that the politics of the country now turn upon the question, *Can slavery be carried into Mexico?* we consider the following remarks pertinent to this publication.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

ORIGIN OF SLAVERY.

In ancient days, the nations of the earth were accustomed to designate each other under the name and style of *heathen*. This practice has come down to us unimpaired in no very great degree. Christian nations classify the Chinese as pagans, while the Chinese apply the term, barbaric, to the surrounding world. The Christians call the Mohammedans barbarians, and the Mohammedans consider Christians no better than dogs. The Roman Catholics denounce the Protestants as heretics, who are something worse than heathen, and the Protestants charge the Roman Catholics with being heathen-worshippers of a bad Woman in Scarlet. The inhabitants of the United States north, denounce the inhabitants of the United States south as barbarians, and the inhabitants of the United States south, charge back, that the inhabitants of the United States north are the mud-sills of society; and not being able to agree about the matter, they break the Federal bonds, separate, and fight. Then, we have the Mormons, who act on the belief that they are the newest and choicest order of saints, culled from the heathenish world around.

The prejudice and superstition of ancient days, and upon which all this peculiar difference of opinion among nations and peoples is founded, appear to hold good now. All the difference we can discover, is, some change in the modes and forms under which they are exhibited.

We believe the idea of human slavery originated in that old sentiment—old as creation—“*might makes right*”—and which is practically developed among men under those special and elaborate commands, promises, blessings and curses found in the sacred books of all the ancient nations.

Under the Mosaic law, the Jews were made to understand that the lands of the heathen and the heathen round about,

should be given unto them as a possession—an inheritance forever.

We find in Deuteronomy, chapter vi., verses 10 and 11 :

“10. And it shall be, when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land which he sware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob, to give thee great and goodly cities which thou buildest not,

“11. And houses full of all good things which thou fillest not, and wells digged, which thou diggest not, vineyards and olive trees which thou plantest not; when thou shalt have eaten and be full.”

Again, chapter vii., verses 1 and 2 :

“1. When the Lord thy God shall bring thee unto the land whither thou goest to possess it, and hath cast out many nations before thee, the Hittites, and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than thou :

“2. And when the Lord thy God shall deliver them before thee; thou shalt smite them and utterly destroy them ; thou shalt make no covenant with them, nor shew mercy unto them.”

And in Leviticus, chapter xxv., verses 44, 45 and 46 :

“44. Both thy bondmen and bondmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you : of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.

“45. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession.

“46. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession ; they shall be your bondmen forever, but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over the other with rigor.”

We believe the foregoing verses, selected promiscuously, represent clearly and accurately one of the fundamental principles of the religious and civil code of the Jews, and, so far as we have been able to ascertain, the right to conquer and enslave the heathen, or, *your enemies*, as some have interpreted the passages of this nature, is proclaimed in the sacred writings of all the ancient nations ; and it is quite certain that from time immemorial, nations acting upon the

principle thus inculcated, have gone forth conquering and enslaving.

Human slavery is sustained by some as an institution of Divine origin, and the Bible is brought forward in evidence. It is denounced by others as a sin and a crime, and the Bible is given as authority. The Christian Church in the United States is widely and bitterly divided on this question. But we have not thus brought forward the subject for the purpose of remarking upon it from a religious stand-point. We simply desire to state what we conceive to be the origin of those great moving principles which have led man to enslave his fellow man, from the earliest ages to the present day, without presuming to remark upon the right or wrong of those principles as they were originally enunciated. This is a field of discussion we would go a good ways round to avoid, rather than enter upon.

Our personal views of human slavery were distinctly stated in the first number of the *MEXICAN PAPERS*. In coming to the conclusion that it is not right for man to own property in man, our natural sympathies were guided by that simple rule which has as much religion in it as our comprehension can master: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do you even so to them." If, under this rule, involuntary servitude, or that system of human slavery which gives man property in man is right, then there is no God, no justice, no reality in anything.

In entertaining this opinion on the principle of human slavery, we trust that we shall be allowed to speak of the Federal Constitution of the United States in reasonable and just terms, without being required to denounce it as a "compact with hell," or to stigmatize negro slavery in the South as the "sum of all villainies," and our fellow-citizen slave-owners as "barbarians, thieves, cut-throats, the vilest of the vile," etc., etc. Here is where we part company with the philanthropic fanatics and abolitionists of every grade, and in pursuing a course directly opposed to these delirious factions, we have never obtained any new light on the subject that has inclined

us to join the opposite extreme, and sustain the institution of slavery as of divine origin, wise, beneficent, and just. Here we part company with the Calhoun school. We particularly desire to call public attention to this point in the great political highway, where we diverge from the Garrison school and from the Calhoun school, for it is the point where, some thirty years ago, reason lost her sway, and the people of the United States started off on a course of education of a revolutionary nature in its very inception, and which has, at last, borne its revolutionary fruit in the disruption of the confederacy, and the ruin of the nation as a unity. Practically, the issue between the North and South which is now upon the country, has been forced onward to its present ruinous point, mainly under the auspices of abolitionism, and as yet, there is no evidence of the existence of an intermediate party, based on common-sense principles, which can make its voice heard amid the general uproar, in opposition the revolutionary masses who stand glaring fiercely at each other, and ready to deluge the land with blood.

THE NEW ERA OF SLAVERY.

It may be said that the discovery of the western coast of Africa, in the fifteenth century, by the Portuguese, created a new era in human slavery, inasmuch as the slavery resulting from Portuguese discoveries was confined to the African negro, and had its basis on commerce; whereas, the ancient system of slavery, as practised by European and Asiatic nations, originated in national wars, which gave captives promiscuously among the nations, said captives being treated as property under the prevailing law. There are vague accounts of Norman discoveries in Africa as early as the first part of the fourteenth century, but until the middle of the fifteenth century, Africa, with the exception of a narrow strip of country bordering on the Mediterranean, was, in fact, as much of a sealed book to Europe as the American continent. The year 1441 found HENRY, Prince of Portugal, devoting his

means and energies to voyages of discovery along the western coast of Africa. One of the first voyages made at this time, a short distance down the coast, under the command of ANTONIO GONÇALVEZ, resulted in the capture of some Azeneghi Moors. In 1442 these Moors told Prince HENRY that if he would send them back to their country, they would return negro slaves as a ransom. The prince therefore ordered GONÇALVEZ to take back three Moors and exchange them for as many negroes as he could get—the prince, as BARROS states, insisting as the foundation of the matter, that if GONÇALVEZ should not be able to obtain so many negroes (as had been mentioned) in exchange for the three Moors, yet that he should take them; *for, whatever number he should get, he would gain souls, because they (the negroes) might be converted to the faith, which could not be managed with the Moors.* GONÇALVEZ returned with ten negroes, which, it would appear, were the first that had been seen in Portugal, as they excited general wonder.

The result of these voyages of GONÇALVEZ was to start other and more formidable maritime expeditions down the African coast. In 1444, one of these expeditions fitted out at Lagos, attacked the islands of Nar and Tider, and captured two hundred black slaves, whom they carried back to Portugal and distributed, after allowing Prince HENRY his royal fifth.

The *Chronicle* of AZURARA gives an account of the distribution of these slaves, and from that account we make the following extract :

“ While they were placing in one part the children that saw their parents in another, the children sprang up perseveringly and fled to them ; the mothers inclosed their children in their arms, and threw themselves with them on the ground, receiving wounds with little pity for their own flesh, so that their offspring might not be torn from them ! And so, with labor and difficulty, they concluded the partition, for, besides the trouble they had with the captives, the plain was full of people, as well of the place as of the villages and neighborhood around, who at that day gave rest to their hands, the mainstay of their livelihood, only to see this novelty. And as they looked upon these things, some deploring, some reasoning upon them, they made such a riotous noise as greatly to disturb those who had the management of the distribution. The

Infante was there, upon a powerful horse, accompanied by his people, looking out his share, but as a man who, for his part, did not care for gain ; for, of the forty-six souls which fell to his fifth, he speedily made his choice, *as all his principal riches were in his contentment, considering with great delight the salvation of those souls which before were lost.*"

Thus, favored by special blessings, dispensations and indulgences from the pope, and under the powerful patronage of HENRY, Prince of Portugal, the African slave trade commenced. The bodies of the heathen were allotted to their Christian captors, their souls to God, and thus the account with heaven was balanced.

By slow degrees, the Portuguese prosecuted their discoveries along the African coast until 1493, when the southernmost point (the Cape of Good Hope) was doubled by BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ. Commercial enterprise kept pace with these discoveries, and the Portuguese vessels returned home with an assortment of African products, of which slaves, gold dust, ivory, skins, etc. formed the principal part. The slaves were disposed of principally to grandees and men of wealth in Portugal and Spain. Those countries were fully stocked with a laboring population, and the introduction of negro slave labor, to any great extent, would have been productive of distress and revolution. The demand for negro slaves from Africa was, therefore, limited, as they only served to vary and swell the train of attendants that belonged to the wealth, fashion, and grandeur of those days. It was reserved for the New World to give a new and extended impulse to the African slave trade.

THE INTRODUCTION AND PROGRESS OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

The discovery of the New World by COLUMBUS, in 1492, cast into the shade the maritime enterprise of the Portuguese, which had been prosecuted with great perseverance and daring on the western coast of Africa, during the previous half century. A new continent rose up before the world's

narrow vision, and nearly all the nations of Europe prepared to avail themselves of this new and grand field of aggrandizement. Spain, at this time, was the most advanced country on the continent of Europe. The Spaniards took the lead in the New World, and the first benefits of the discovery and the greater extent of territory fell to them. The West India islands were first explored and conquered, and, acting on the old idea of taking possession of the heathen as an inheritance, the natives with which these islands swarmed were at once seized upon as slaves and divided out among the colonizing Christians in *encomiendas* and *repartimientos*. The island of St. Domingo was discovered by COLUMBUS on his first voyage, 1492. The Licentiate ZUAZO gives the number of natives at that time as 1,130,000. Others estimate it much higher. The enumeration by the Governor, OVANDO, in 1508, represents 70,000 Indians, and when DIEGO COLUMBUS assumed the government of the island they were reduced to 40,000. In 1514, ALBUQUERQUE, a new *repartidor*, appointed by Spain, arrived to make a repartition of the Indians, and found but 13,000 remaining.

COLUMBUS, in his account of the discovery of the island of Hispaniola, thus speaks of the aborigines: "They are a loving, uncovetous people, so docile in all things, that I assure your highnesses I believe in all the world there is not a better people or a better country: they love their neighbors as themselves, and they have the sweetest and the gentlest way of talking in the world, and always with a smile."

As early as 1530, the principal West India islands, especially St. Domingo and Cuba, were so nearly depopulated that Indian slaves were brought from the main land to supply in part the deficiency. The Pearl Coast, now known as Venezuela, was horribly ravaged by the Spaniards in order to obtain these slaves. This supply gave out in a few years. In 1537, only one hundred and thirty Indian slaves, native and imported, were found in the island of Cuba. In 1550, a letter from St. Domingo to the Emperor states: "There is scarcely a single native left on the island, and those Indians

who have been brought to the island as slaves, the greater part have fled into the depths of the country, as the companionship of the Spaniards is abhorrent to them."

FERDINAND, in his official dispatches to the West India Admiral, dated Seville, June 6, 1511, says : "*The conversion of the Indians is the principal foundation of the conquest, that which principally ought to be attended to.*" It may be said that the conversion of the Indians in the West India islands was thoroughly accomplished in about twenty-five years from the time they were discovered and occupied by the Spaniards, as, during this period, the knife, the bullet, bloodhounds and horrible oppression, the converting agencies of the Christians, had done their perfect work, and scarcely a vestige of the happy millions who, but a few years before had inhabited these islands, remained.

The same system of converting the heathen on the main land had already commenced, and the powerful effects of the Christianity of the age were visible in the rapid extinction of the native races, which, in some localities, was complete. A widely extended country like Mexico, and other regions in South America escaped total depopulation.

It cannot be said that the fearful amount of misery and death which now, after the lapse of more than three centuries, casts a lurid glare over the early course of the Spaniards in the New World, attracted no attention at the time, or met with no opposition. Certain humane and philanthropic individuals belonging to several of the religious orders of the day, took a truly humane and noble stand in relation to the hideous acts of the conquerors to which they were eye-witnesses. Among these good men, LAS CASAS stands pre-eminent for his purity of purpose, his self-sacrificing spirit, zeal, courage and ability. Some twelve Dominican monks residing in Hispaniola were, as a body, thoroughly opposed to the cruelties practised upon the Indians by the Spaniards ; and one of these monks, Father ANTONIO MONTOSINO, became conspicuous for his bold and active measures tending to a more humane policy. But the grand result proved that all

the efforts of these good men—extraordinary in their day—availed nothing. Their strength failed, their limbs withered, and their voices were hushed in death as one by one they disappeared, leaving the evil tide of human affairs to roll over the New World with overwhelming volume and power.

With the early destruction of the aborigines in the West India islands and some of the countries on the American continent, originally overrun by the Spaniards, *an imperative demand for laborers arose, and thus the way for the importation of negro slaves from Africa was opened.*

In 1501, by royal permission, a few negro slaves were imported into Hispaniola. One of the conditions of this importation was, that the negro slaves should be of those born among Christians in Spain, that they might aid in *converting the heathen* in the New World. But as these negroes did not prove enduring specimens of muscular Christianity, resort was had to the pure heathen article in Africa, and a small invoice of these was imported into St. Domingo, in 1503. The king, in a letter to OVANDO, the Governor of St. Domingo, dated Segovia, Sept. 1505, says: "I will send more negro slaves as you request; I think there may be a hundred." Some of these negro slaves ran away among the natives and caused much mischief. As the natives diminished the demand for negro slaves increased, and the importations became greater. The royal historiographer, HERRERA, states that the king informed the Admiral Don DIEGO COLUMBUS, in 1510, that he had ordered the officials at Seville to dispatch fifty negroes to work the mines in Hispaniola. The following sentence occurs in a letter of the king, dated June, 1511, to an officer in the colony named Sampier. "I do not understand how so many negroes have died." The 24th of October, 1511, the king gave the following order to the officials of Seville: "Pay to Pedro de Ledesma, our pilot, that which is due to him for the last voyage made at our command, to transport negroes to Hispaniola."

It appears that the exportation of negro slaves to the West India islands was at first under the immediate supervision of

the crown, and the business was somewhat limited up to 1517, when CHARLES V. granted to the governor, DE BRESA, a Fleming, the monopoly of importing 4,000 negroes into the West India islands within the period of eight years. LAS CASAS has been charged by his enemies with being the first cause of the importation of negro slaves into the Spanish colonies. This is manifestly unjust. It is true, however, that in 1517, LAS CASAS, in his zeal to alleviate the sufferings of the Indians, and save them from total annihilation under the horrid atrocities of the Spaniards, to which he was an eye-witness, advised the importation of negro slaves. LAS CASAS speedily repented of his error, and in writing his own history subsequently, he says :

“ This advice, that license should be given to bring negro slaves to these lands, the Clerigo CASAS first gave, not considering the injustice with which the Portuguese take them, and make them slaves ; which advice, after he had apprehended the nature of the thing, he would not have given for all he had in the world. For he always held that they had been made slaves unjustly and tyrannically ; for the same reason holds good of them as of the Indians.”

In 1523, another monopoly grant was given to DE BRESA, before the first had expired, and the last permitted the importation of 4,000 negro slaves into the Indies in eight years.

DE BRESA sold these grants to a company of Genoese merchants, and negroes were sold at a very high price, FIGUEROA, writing to the Emperor from St. Domingo, July, 1520, says :

“ Negroes are very much in request ; none have come for about a year. It would have been better to have given DE BRESA the customs' duties (*i. e.* the duties that had usually been paid on the importation of slaves), than to have placed a prohibition.”

Owing to the continued remonstrances of the colonists by reason of the scarcity of slaves, the monopoly granted to DE BRESA was recalled in 1524, and instead of it, permission was granted for the importation of 1,500 negroes to Hispaniola ; 300 to Cuba ; 500 to Porto Rico ; 300 to Jamaica ; and 500

to Castilla del Oro, on the main land. DE BRESA was compensated by having assigned to him the customs duties on the 1,500 negroes imported into Hispaniola.

In 1527, 1,000 negroes were allowed to be imported into Cuba. In 1528, the king granted to ENRIQUE CIGUER and GERONIMO SAILLER, Germans, the monopoly of importing 4,000 negro slaves into the Indies, within a certain time. In 1531, the Bishop of St. Domingo writes to the empress that the perpetuity of that island, of Porto Rico and of Cuba consists in the negroes, and he requests that they should be imported without license.

In 1536, the monopoly to import 4,000 negro slaves into the Indies within the term of four years, was granted for 26,000 ducats. In 1542, one of the king's chaplains who had traversed the island of Hispaniola, informed the Council of the Indies that according to his belief there were 25,000 to 30,000 negroes on the island, and the number of the masters was 1,200. We find it stated in the Muñoz collection that in 1552, license was granted to import 23,000 negro slaves into the Indies within the term of seven years at eight ducats per head. The number of negroes annually imported into Hispaniola alone, at this period, was 2,000.

The granting of licenses to import negroes into the Indies and the customs duties arising from the importation, constituted the source of an enormous revenue to the crown of Spain. A portion of the money accruing from this source was employed in building the fortress-palaces of Madrid and Toledo. HELPS, in his truly valuable work, "*The Spanish Conquest of America*," says on this point :

"Many of the noted buildings of the earth are of most questionable origin ; but these two palaces must be allowed to enjoy a remarkable preëminence as monuments of folly and oppression. Other buildings have been erected solely at the cost of the suffering subjects of great despots, or by prisoners captured in war ; but the blood-cemented walls of the Alcazar of Madrid might boast of being raised upon a complication of suffering hitherto unparalleled in the annals of mankind."

The South American continent was discovered in the year

1500 by VINCENT YANEZ PINZON, a companion of COLUMBUS, and in a very few years, slave-hunting and slavery nearly desolated all that region of country lying on the Caribbean Sea, then known as the Pearl Coast. The conquest of Mexico was achieved by CORTEZ in 1521. The conquest of Peru was commenced by PIZZARO in 1524, and completed in 1527. The coast of Brazil had been discovered and its unexplored territory divided into captaincies by the King of Portugal in 1530.

LERDO DE TEJADA, in his full and reliable "*Apuntos Historicos de Vera Cruz*," says :

"In 1535, sixteen years after the conquest, the greater portion of the inhabitants living on the Vera Cruz shore was composed of the Indians who were there before the conquest, and negro slaves brought from Africa by the Spaniards, as into the other colonies, to perform the severe labor of the field. From the union of these two races, the Indian and the negro, came the mestizos, known as *jarochos*, which to this day form a part of the inhabitants of Vera Cruz and the neighborhood."

It is evident, therefore, that under the license to import negro slaves into the Spanish colonies, this barbarous traffic was commenced in Mexico immediately after the conquest of the country by CORTEZ.

That vast region known as Brazil fell to the Portuguese. The French, Dutch, Spanish and English made occasional inroads upon this territory, and at times held possession of parts and the whole of the same ; but the Portuguese always regained the country, and it remained a dependency of Portugal until 1822. At the outset, the Portuguese equalled, if they did not excel the Spaniards in their cruel treatment of the natives, who were at once enslaved on plantations. Negroes were preferred, however, as they proved more capable and enduring. On the discovery of the mines in the interior, the latter part of the seventeenth century, the general destruction of the natives commenced. The Portuguese ransacked the country from end to end to capture Indians and keep up the supply of slaves in the mines. The depopulation of Brazil then went on at a fearful rate, and in a few years the natives

ceased to form an element of any great value in the labor of the country. Something more than 2,000,000 of the Brazil Indians must have been enslaved and destroyed by the Portuguese and other European nations, before the middle of the eighteenth century. Here then, we have a vast region ready to swallow up innumerable cargoes of heathen from Africa. Circumstances favored the importation of negro slaves into Brazil. The Portuguese were in possession of the western coast of Africa, and their arrangements for the commercial slave trade were complete. Bahia, one of the principal Brazilian ports, was a convenient and favorite resort for slave traders, by reason of its nearness to the African coast, and the importation of negro slaves into Brazil was co-existent with the discovery and occupation of the country by the Portuguese.

Paraguay and Buenos Ayres were discovered* by the Spaniards in 1516, and while the Portuguese were occupying Brazil, the Spaniards were gradually working their way into those countries to the south and west, now known as the Argentine Confederation.

It may be said that by the year 1550, the general outline of those extended regions on this continent known as Spanish America, and the Portuguese possessions in Brazil were defined. The aborigines of the West India islands had been totally destroyed and their places filled by negro slaves imported from Africa. Immense numbers of the Mexican people were disappearing under the iron rule of the Spaniard. South America, divided between the Spaniards and Portuguese, with an occasional inroad by some other European nation, had been entirely depopulated in certain sections, and the work of human sacrifice was rapidly progressing throughout the entire length and breadth of the land. In proportion as the natives disappeared, the demand for negro slaves increased, and we thus find that in the middle of the sixteenth century the great commercial slave trade on this continent and the West Indies, with the exception of that portion of North America not then settled, was fully estab-

lished. With the West India islands the trade was very brisk, as they depended entirely on this source for labor. With Mexico, the trade was active only with certain limited sections. With Brazil it was just commencing on a grand scale, and with other portions of South America the traffic was gradually finding its way to every part.

This immense trade in human flesh—immense in amount, and immense in the profit it yielded—was at first monopolized by the Spaniards and Portuguese. By sure and not very slow degrees, other European nations encroached upon this monopoly, primarily through companies of their respective citizens, carrying on a contraband trade, and finally, whatever of monopoly remained was transferred from one nation to another by grants protected by treaty.

The Dutch smuggled considerable numbers of negro slaves into the West India islands and Brazil before the close of the sixteenth century.

One JOHN HAWKINS was the first Englishman who entered upon the African slave trade. In the year 1562, HAWKINS went to the coast of Africa with three vessels, the Solomon, of 120 tons, the Swallow of 100 tons, and the Jonas, of 40 tons. These vessels obtained 300 negroes on the coast of Africa, partly by capture, and partly by purchase, and took them to Hispaniola, where they were sold to good advantage, and HAWKINS returned to England. Another successful expedition was made and the English considered the African slave trade fairly open to them. Queen ELIZABETH knighted HAWKINS, and made him treasurer of the navy. The queen also chartered a company to carry on the trade. Thus Protestant ELIZABETH vied with Catholic Europe in favoring the African slave trade, by which the descendants of HAM should be snatched from heathenism, as brands plucked from the burning, and transported to lands where the light of Christianity would penetrate their benighted souls.

In 1618, King JAMES I. granted a slave trading charter to Sir ROBERT RICH.

The first English colony was planted in Virginia 1607, and

the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth 1621. In August, 1619, a Dutch man-of-war visited Jamestown, Virginia, having on board negro slaves, of which they sold nineteen to the settlers. These were the first negro slaves imported into the English colonies. In 1670, according to Gov. BERKLEY's statistics, there were 2,000 negro slaves in the Virginia colony. Between the years 1630 and 1640, when there was no Parliament in England, the Dutch carried on a lucrative commerce with the English-American plantations, and it is quite probable that the importation of negro slaves formed one branch of this profitable commerce. The Puritans commenced the African slave trade in 1646. Their first slave trader was fitted out and sailed for the coast of Africa, from Boston, in that year.

The island of Nevis, held by the English, contained, in 1628, 8,000 negro slaves, employed in the culture of sugar.

The island of St. Christopher in the Caribbean Sea had been settled by the English and French in 1624, and in 1635 it was well supplied with negro slaves.

The island of Montserrat was settled by the English under Sir THOMAS WARREN, Governor of St. Christopher, in 1632, and in 1658 it contained 10,000 negro slaves.

The French from the island of St. Christopher settled the island of Martinique in 1635, and in 1658 it contained 10,000 negro slaves. Guadaloupe was settled and stocked with negroes by the French the same year.

Slavery was established in all the French colonies in America by royal edicts during the reign of LOUIS XIII.

The Dutch took possession of the small island of St. Eustatia in the Caribbean Sea 1632, and it was chiefly used by them for its commodious position, from which a contraband trade could be carried on with the neighboring European colonies. 15,000 negro slaves were on this island in 1658.

In 1637, some of the Dutch West India companies' ships captured the Guinea coast castle of *St. George del Mina*, the principal fort of the Portuguese on the African coast, and

were thus supplied first hand with negroes for carrying on their sugar plantations, which they then held in Brazil, and supplying the trade with slaves.

In 1657, the Dutch occupied the small and barren West India island of Curaçoa for the sole purpose of doing a contraband business in negro slaves and European merchandise, with the Spanish colonies.

In 1662, CHARLES II. granted a monopoly, authorizing a company to export 3,000 negro slaves per annum to his American colonies. This was a most valuable privilege, and it came out under the immediate auspices of the Queen Dowager and the Duke of York.

This monopoly became odious, and in 1695 it was resolved by the Commons of England in Committee of the Whole, "that for the better supply of the plantations, all the subjects of Great Britain should have liberty to trade in Africa for negroes, with such limits as should be prescribed by Parliament."

Some Frenchmen had for many years—since 1635 it is said—maintained an establishment on the Senegal River in Africa, under the name of the "Senegal Company," and in 1685, says MACPHERSON, in his "Annals of Commerce," the king of France, observing that the great extent of the limits of the Senegal Company (no less than about 1,500 leagues of the coast of Africa) excluded all his other subjects from trading in negro slaves, for the use of the West India colonies, now established a New Guinea company with exclusive right for twenty years to trade in negroes, gold dust, etc., between the river Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope; the balance of the coast being reserved to the Senegal Company.

In 1696, the Portuguese, having emerged from the rule of Spain, contracted to furnish the Spanish colonies with 25,000 negro slaves in five years. This was the foundation of the famous *asiento* contract which figures so largely in English history. The contract was fulfilled by the Portuguese, the king taking part in it and advancing two-thirds of the funds necessary to carry it out. Just as this contract with the

Portuguese expired, 1701, the French gave a king, PHILIP V., to Spain, who transferred the slave trade monopoly to his countrymen, this being considered the greatest favor he could legally grant to them.

The *asiento* contract papers passed into the hands of the English by the treaty of Utrecht, 1713, and subsequently, in May of that year, Great Britain obtained from Spain an entirely new contract, by which the South Sea company engaged to deliver to the Spanish colonies, 4,800 negro slaves yearly for thirty years. This occasioned great rejoicing in England, so valuable was the contract considered. The English were not limited to the number stipulated per annum, except during the five last years of the contract. For twenty-five years they imported all they could sell. They agreed to pay £7 10s. for each of the first 4,000 negroes; the other eight hundred were freed from this tribute in consideration of £45,000 advanced to the court of Madrid, to be reimbursed in the course of ten years. This tribute was reduced to half for all the slaves that were not required by the contract. PHILIP V. indemnified himself for this sacrifice by reserving the fourth part of the profits made by the company.

Infringements on this contract and restrictions by Spain, formed at one time, one of the principal causes of war with Spain. The peace of 1748 restored to England all their rights in the *asiento* contract, but the Company was induced to give up the short period that remained of the contract for an indemnity. ROBERT MAYNE, a London merchant, succeeded to the association under a Spanish name, but not meeting with great success, the resolution was taken in 1752 to receive negro slaves on the island of Porto Rico, a duty of £9 to be paid to government on each slave. In 1773 Spain renewed the charter with a company of Spanish, French and Genoese merchants, doing business in Cadiz. The tax was diminished and other advantages granted by which the slave trade acquired fresh activity and became more extended.

It is mentioned in the writings of Padre ALEGRE that the black vomit, or yellow fever, from which Vera Cruz, in Mexico,

suffers so much, was first brought to that place by an English ship loaded with negroes, in 1699.

In 1698, the English contraband slave traders had virtually broken up the Royal African Company monopoly in Guinea and other parts of the African coast, and this year the English Parliament passed an act relieving the Royal African Company from the expense of sustaining the forts, castles, etc., necessary to protect the slave trade, by imposing a duty of ten per cent. on all merchandise imported into Africa, and ten per cent. on all merchandise exported from Africa, *negroes excepted*. This trade, which had been virtually open, was now made legally so.

In 1708 the English House of Commons resolved, "That the slave trade was important, and ought to be open to all the queen's subjects trading from Great Britain ;" and the act of 23d George II. declares :

"The slave trade to be very advantageous to Great Britain, and necessary for supplying the plantations and colonies thereunto belonging, with a sufficient number of negroes at a reasonable rate."

In 1730, the English parliament granted £10,000 per annum, till 1746, to sustain the forts, factories, etc., on the coast of Africa, that the slave trade might be protected and carried on successfully.

At this time, the English supplied their North American colonies, from Massachusetts Bay to Florida, with negro slaves. They held the monopoly of supplying the Spanish colonies with the same article. They maintained slave factories at Vera Cruz, Panama, Porto Bello, Carthagená, Buenos Ayres, and subsequently in Brazil, and in contract with Portugal to furnish that dependency with negro slaves.

When some of the American colonies protested to the mother country against the importation of negro slaves within their limits, the English government, as late as 1775, just as the American Revolution commenced, thus replied to these protests :

" *We cannot allow the Colonies to check or discourage in any degree a traffic so beneficial to the nation.*"

BRYAN EDWARDS, the best English authority we can quote on the subject, says :

“The British slave trade had attained its highest pitch of prosperity a short time before the commencement of the American War.”

In 1771, the English exported from Africa in 192 ships, 47,146 negro slaves. This is the official account.

In 1787, the merchants of Liverpool transmitted to the Lords of the Privy Council, the following account of the number of slaves exported from Africa that year by the different European nations.

British,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38,000
French,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	20,000
Dutch,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,000
Danes,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,000
Portuguese,	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10,000
										<hr/> 74,000

It is a well-known fact that the contraband trade in negro slaves averaged more than the legalized trade.

The whole number of factories and forts established on the coast of Africa at this time was 40, of which 14 belonged to the English, 3 to the French, 15 to the Dutch, 4 to the Portuguese, and 4 to the Danes.

CULMINATING PERIOD OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

Commencing with a few remarks upon the origin of slavery, we have given a line of facts in something like chronological order, exhibiting the degrees of advancement made by Christian nations in commercial slavery on the Western Continent and Islands up to the year 1787. The line of facts given might be greatly enlarged and perfected, but we think sufficient has been stated to prove what we proposed to prove in the first place, namely, that the new era of commercial slavery reached its culminating period throughout the American continent and the West Indian islands, the latter part of the eighteenth century.

At this period, we find the continent and islands occupied by the following nationalities :

England held possession of the northern portion of North America, with the geographical division of Canada; a portion of Guiana, and the West India islands of Jamaica, Barbadoes, Bermudas, Bahamas, Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, and most of the Virgin Isles.

The thirteen United States occupied the central portion of North America.

The extensive American possessions of Spain were divided into four vice-royalties, namely, Mexico, Peru, La Plata and New Granada ; and five captain-generalships, namely, Yucatan, Guatemala, Chili, Venezuela, and the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

The Portuguese occupied Brazil.

The French held possession of a portion of Guiana on the main land, and the West India islands of St. Domingo, Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Cayenne.

The Danes owned the islands of St. Thomas and St. Croix, of the group of Virgin Isles.

The number of negro slaves in North America and the West India islands, at the period at which we are writing, can be given with accuracy, but with Mexico, Central and South America, it is otherwise, as there are absolutely no very reliable statistics in existence relative to this point. We have made a careful examination, however, of all the information to be obtained on the subject, and we give the result, believing it to be an approximation to the truth—rather under than over the actuality.

It must be borne in mind that when Spain ruled the Spanish American countries on this continent, the *aborigines* of those countries were held as *slaves*.* Though the Spaniards made terrible havoc with the natives, enough appear to have survived to meet the necessary requirements of labor in

* See Mexico, page 227.

Mexico, Central and South America, so that negro slavery, except in several limited districts, never prevailed to any great extent in those continental possessions of the Spaniards.

The following is our estimate of slaves on this continent and in the West India islands in 1790 :

	Negro Slaves.	Indian Slaves.	Total.
United States, . . .	697,897		
British West Indies, . .	505,241		
French West Indies, . .	800,000		
Guiana,	50,000		
Spanish possessions on the continent,	410,000	7,000,000	
Brazil (Portuguese) . .	600,000		
	<hr/> 3,063,138	<hr/> 7,000,000	10,063,138

The supply of negro slaves in those days was kept up by direct importation, and not from the natural increase of the negroes on the soil. The importation of negro slaves at this period consisted principally of male adults, less than one-third being women, and very few small children. The great mass of the negro slave population was, therefore, an adult laboring population, and with the usual proportion of women and children, they would have made an exhibit of more than 6,000,000.

The average value of a negro slave at this time may be stated at \$300. The regular rate for good plantation hands was £70.

The use of slave labor was careless and extravagant in the extreme, except in certain localities on the continent. The consumption of negro slaves, especially in the West Indies and Brazil, was enormous, and yet the result in products was comparatively small.

The importation of negro slaves into America during the latter part of the eighteenth century, must have averaged something more than 100,000 per annum, and throughout the entire century, it could not have been less than 75,000 per annum.

At the commencement of the American Revolution, this continent, every foot of it from the frozen North to Magellan, was slave territory. The West India islands were all devoted to slavery. By royal edicts, legislative enactments, and common law, the right of man to own property in man was acknowledged and protected in the strongest manner possible. All the nations having possessions in the Western Hemisphere, were actively engaged in supplying those possessions with slaves. The negro slaves alone, nearly equalled the pure whites throughout the continent and the islands, and taking into account the Indian slaves in Mexico and South America, the bond outnumbered the free, in all America (excepting the wild Indians), two to one !

The entire labor or service of the continent and the islands, if we make a slight exception in Canada and the New England colonies, was performed by slaves, and all the exports were the products of slave labor. The institution of slavery was, therefore, not only national, but *continental*. The moral, legal, territorial, industrial, and commercial *status* of the institution was complete.

In this, the darkest day of modern slavery, the American DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE flashed upon the world. This Declaration declared the following :

“WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT ; THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL ; AND THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS ; THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.”

A line of poetry in a world of prose—a ray of light penetrating universal darkness—the leaven of humanity, justice, and freedom in the mass of cruelty, iniquity, and despotism—an anchor of hope—a sign of the millennium, but a positive impossibility, as a whole, intellectually and socially, if not politically, so long as men are created as they are.

This is the light in which we view the Declaration of Independence. It was a superb document on which to base a

revolution and achieve independence. But eleven years afterward, when it became necessary for the fathers to frame a constitution adapted to the reality of things as they then existed, material interests, imperious matter of fact expediency, required that all the poetry and romance, all the fine ideas about equality in man and his inalienable rights, contained in the Declaration upon which the independence of the country had been achieved, should be repudiated. Consequently, a Constitution that recognized the right of man to own property in man, and protected him in that right, so far as human law can protect him, was framed and adopted. Revolting as it is to acknowledge this feature in our Constitution at the present day, it must be done. A certain race of human beings have been bought and sold, and held to involuntary labor or service under this Constitution, from the day it was framed to the present. The monstrous inconsistency between the Declaration of Independence and a Constitution that recognized the right of man to hold property in man, as well as the anomaly of basing a free republican government on the freedom of one race and the slavery of another, staggered the fathers, and well-nigh proved an insurmountable obstacle to the realization of their patriotic hopes at the very outset. We have one evidence of this in the care with which the words *slave* and *slavery* were excluded from the Constitution.

Article I. of the Constitution, section second, third clause, says :

“Representative and direct taxes shall be proportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*”

We believe this gives one representative in the United States Congress to every 50,000 slaves ; slavery is, therefore, a political element in our government.

Also, in Article I., section ninth, first clause, we find :

"The migration or importation of such *persons* as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such *importation*, not exceeding ten dollars for each *person*."

The foreign and domestic slave trade is here made constitutional, irrevocably so until 1808, and as long after as Congress might allow. The Constitution does not say the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States shall think proper to admit, *shall* be prohibited by Congress prior to the year 1808, etc., but it says, "*shall not be prohibited*," etc. Under this provision the foreign importation of negro slaves from Africa was abolished in 1808, *by special act of Congress*, but domestic migration of negro slaves, made constitutional in the same clause, is suffered to continue to this day. The negro slaves imported under the above clause, passed through the custom-house and paid a duty of ten dollars per head, the same as merchandise, and under the Constitution, this business can be resumed any day Congress may permit.

Article IV., section second, third clause says :

"No *person* held to *service or labor* in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such *service or labor*, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such *service or labor* may be due."

Thus the property in the slave was secured to the owner, and the right of the owner to his property was made perfect. This is in direct conflict with the law of the Jews on that subject, as we find in the book of Deuteronomy, chapter xxiii., verses 15 and 16 :

"15. Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee :

"16. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him."

It is said that this law referred to slaves who escaped to the Jews from *foreign countries*; but if we fall back upon the

superstitious notions of the Jews relative to slavery, we meet with contradictions, and are obliged to follow a zig-zag course of argument which fortify us in no very decided manner, either for or against the institution.

The clauses we have quoted from the Constitution are all that refer directly to the subject of slavery. There is not one word in that instrument which points to the ultimate abolition of the institution, or places any limit to its extension. On the contrary, it perpetuates the institution and gives opportunity for its extension so long as it remains the Constitution of the country. On this point, and to ascertain how the fathers regarded the *status* of slavery and the negro, let us look at the practice of the fathers themselves.

The following is the language used in those days in certain treaties, instruments second in importance only to the Constitution :

" PROVISIONAL ARTICLES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND HIS
BRITANNIC MAJESTY,

" Agreed upon by and between Richard Oswald, Esquire the Commissioner of His Britannic Majesty, for treating of Peace with the Commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said Majesty, on one part, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens, four of the Commissioners of the said States, etc., etc., etc.

" Article VII. * * * All prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and His Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any '*negroes or other property*' of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the said U. S., and from every port, place and harbor within the same. * * *

" Done at Paris, Nov. 30, 1782.

" RICHARD OSWALD, [L.S.]
" JOHN ADAMS, [L.S.]
" B. FRANKLIN, [L.S.]
" JOHN JAY, [L.S.]
" HENRY LAURENS, [L.S.]"

" DEFINITE TREATY OF PEACE, BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND HIS
BRITANNIC MAJESTY.

" Article VII. * * * And His Britannic Majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any '*negroes or*

other property" of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, etc., etc.,
etc. * * * * *

" Done at Paris, Sept. 3, 1783.

" D. HARTLEY,	[L.S.]
" JOHN ADAMS,	[L.S.]
" B. FRANKLIN,	[L.S.]
" JOHN JAY,	[L.S.]"

" TREATY OF PEACE AND AMITY, BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA,

" [Ratified and confirmed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate,
Feb. 11, 1815.]

" Article I. * * * Shall be restored without delay, and without causing any
destruction, or carrying away any of the artillery or other public property
originally captured in the said forts or places, and which shall remain therein
upon the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, or any '*slaves or other
private property.*' * * * * *

" Done, in triplicate, at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814.

" GAMBIER,	[L.S.]
" HENRY GOULBURN,	[L.S.]
" WILLIAM ADAMS,	[L.S.]
" JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,	[L.S.]
" J. A. BAYARD,	[L.S.]
" H. CLAY,	[L.S.]
" JONA. RUSSELL,	[L.S.]
" ALBERT GALLATIN.	[L.S.]"

In 1803, during the administration of Mr. JEFFERSON, that extensive region, then known as the Louisiana Territory, was purchased from France. Mr. JEFFERSON, we believe, considered this purchase a violation of the Constitution, but at the same time, he considered the political necessity for the transaction sufficient to override the Constitution. This is one of the instances that demonstrates how utterly worthless written national compacts are when expediency requires that they should be set aside. In this instance, it was either a purchase or a foreign war. By this purchase, an immense tract of slave territory was added to the Union. Louisiana came in as a slave State in 1812, under the administration of Mr. MADISON, and two more slave States from this territory, Arkansas and Missouri, were admitted subsequently.

The next purchase of territory was that of Florida, one of

the Spanish possessions. General JACKSON invaded this territory by order of the Government, to chastise the Indians who were committing depredations on our southern border ; and in 1821, Spain having no other alternative, sold the territory to the United States, and it immediately came into the Union as slave territory under the administration of Mr. MONROE.

The Constitution protecting slavery and imposing no limit to its extension or duration, treaties that required foreign nations to give up captive negroes as *property*, and purchases of slave territory were the acts of the fathers. Every foot of slave territory added to this Union since the adoption of the Constitution, except Texas, was brought in by the fathers themselves. When, therefore, Republican politicians or stump demagogues in the North, who may be puzzled to define their position, declare : " We are for the Constitution, the Union and the laws ! We stand upon the Constitution as it is—as it was understood and interpreted by WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, MONROE, and other of the fathers !" it appears to us that they declare for as strong a pro-slavery Constitution as ever was framed on earth, for a Union based on slavery, and for laws that protect and perpetuate the institution ; and that they go back to days when the right of man to hold property in man was more universally conceded than it is now, and when the understanding and practice of the fathers was to permit the extension of slavery under the Constitution. Much as our desires and feelings incline us to view this matter in a different light, our judgment forces us to this conclusion—the conclusion to which the South has been educated under the Constitution and the acts of the fathers, most of whom lived and died slave-owners. Under these circumstances, it can scarcely be said that the slave States have claimed more than they have a *constitutional* right to demand.

" Distance lends enchantment to the view," mentally as well as optically. It is doubtless a good custom to cast a halo of glory around the great and good of earth who have passed away—to remember their better part and bury their

errors in oblivion. But it is not always safe to regard the great dead, who yet have a direct influence on our destiny, as infallible.

It is almost inexplicable how the men of '76, those who brought forth the Declaration of Independence, carried through the revolution successfully, and consolidated the federal Union, could have based and carried out a democratic republican form of government on the political freedom and equality of the whites, and the legal slavery of the blacks. This sudden descent from the transcendental in liberty and equality, down, down into the dark shades of human bondage, is scarcely credible in the present day. The South, in theory and practice, claims this to be the fact, but denies that there is any inconsistency in it. The South is undoubtedly right as regards the fact, but wrong in claiming that there is no inconsistency. The North, in theory, denies the fact, and of course the inconsistency, but in practice, the great consolidated Republican party of the North has drifted into the abolition current and landed upon the abolition platform, which acknowledges the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, and denounces it as a "covenant with hell," and thus, under the shadow of a false theory that will give the color of constitutionality to its acts, a great sectional party is created and an aggressive policy against the South, contrary to the spirit and letter of the Constitution, is adopted. Here this whole matter lies in a nut-shell.

If all parties would simply fall back upon the truth—the reality of things, and acknowledge the fact of the pro-slavery character of the Constitution, and that the inconsistency of this fact with a Democratic-republican form of government had become more and more manifest every year since its adoption; and if all parties would acknowledge the complete *status* of slavery as it existed when the Constitution was framed, and that in obedience to an overruling Providence, the *status* of the institution, as it then existed, had since been growing weaker year by year, the ruinous element of discord in our national politics would disappear!

The curious notions about slavery that existed in England during the time of HENRY VIII., are worthy of being noted here. The following is the form of a manumission granted to two of his slaves by King HENRY in 1514 :

“ Whereas ; originally God created all men free ; but afterwards the laws and customs of nations subjected some under the yoke of servitude. We think it pious and meritorious with God, to make certain persons absolutely free from servitude who are under villinage to us. Wherefore, we do accordingly manumit and free from the yoke of servitude, Henry Knight, a tailor, and John Erle, a husdbandman, our natives (i. e. our slaves), as being born in our manor of Stoke Clymmyslande, in our county of Cornwall, together with all their issue born, or hereafter to be born, and all their goods, chattels, and lands already acquired, or hereafter to be acquired by them ; so as the said two persons, with their issue, shall henceforth be deemed by us and our heirs free, and of free condition.”

It will not do to judge the fathers of the republic as regards the slavery question, from the anti-slavery standpoint of the present day. If we would obtain some satisfactory explanation of their acts, and comprehend the motives that actuated them in their political course, we must carry ourselves back to the times in which they lived. We must remember that those were times in which men's souls were tried. The first attempt at self-government had proved a failure, under the old Confederation ; jealousies were already rife, and conflicting interests were to be harmonized. The new form of government proposed was, in many respects, entirely experimental. The dark pall of slavery was drawn over this continent from ocean to ocean, and from pole to pole. The labor of the continent and its islands was slave labor. All Europe sustained the system, and had sustained it for centuries. Society and the industrial interests of the colonies were so entirely based on the system of involuntary servitude, that its necessity was, for the time being, absolutely paramount. That the system of slavery as it then existed should have been allowed, for a certain period, the importance then given to it, is perfectly easy of comprehension ; and it is evident that no federal Union, no general

government could have been formed at that period without acknowledging the system of labor then existing, as an industrial necessity for the time being. But in view of those principles of liberty and equality upon which independence was achieved, and the clear and decided sentiments expressed by the early patriots, on the evils of slavery, there is certainly some reason to marvel that the founders of the great American empire did not cause to be inserted in the instrument designed to serve as the Palladium of our liberties for all time, a single clause indicative of their fixed determination, that under this instrument human bondage should, sooner or later, come to an end throughout the land which it was supposed had been gloriously consecrated to human freedom.

This point of inconsistency is the most disagreeable to touch upon, and the most difficult to explain. But we do find something like a satisfactory explanation in the undoubted, undeniable fact that the founders of the republic saw signs of decay in the system of slave labor ; and having faith in an overruling Providence, they believed the economy of nature, in obedience to the law of progress, would, in due time, bring the unfortunate system to an end, and bury it with other false notions and superstitions of the past. That the fathers were right in this particular, we are fully prepared to demonstrate, and in doing this, we must explain wherein they committed a serious error, namely, in forming too high an estimate of those who should follow in their footsteps. WASHINGTON, FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON, ADAMS, MADISON, PINCKNEY, RANDOLPH, and others, who pledged their all in the creation of the federal Union, from their very nobility of nature, were unable to conceive that their glorious labors could be brought to naught in less than three-quarters of a century by a band of crazy fanatics and a low order of politicians, whose sole claim to humane principles, patriotism, and statesmanship lies in the successful exercise of the most common and the meanest of all talent—that of stirring up sectional strife, and causing people to hate each other.

THE DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA.

The economy of nature is the law of progress, and just in proportion as the economy of nature opens the way, society advances. The moral tone of every community depends, therefore, upon the development of its material interests, and all reforms in society are forced onward by expediency in its efforts to furnish the masses with the necessities of life. Reform bides its time.

A CHRIST appearing in the days of MOSES, would either have been totally neglected, caged as a lunatic, or stoned to death by the rabble, and never heard of beyond those who did the deed.

A LUTHER appearing in the days of PETER the Hermit, would have roamed about unheeded, or been drawn and quartered, and his flesh and memory consigned to the dogs.

When CHRIST appeared, the down-trodden masses of Judea and the kingdoms round about were ready to take some heed of his democratic, liberal teachings. When LUTHER appeared, those whom religious despotism had ground into the dust were ready to rise up in aid of the subversion of the doctrine of infallibility in the head of the Church, and sustain Christian liberty. These two reformers stand forth, towering above the disorder and gloom of their times, like bold headlands on a low tempestuous shore. Truth, according to our estimation of time, makes but slow progress. All the moral advancement made in society since the days of MOSES, and we do not consider it very great, appears to be based on the teachings of CHRIST, and the reform of MARTIN LUTHER, and developed through the practical application of the science of mechanics to labor by which the standard of labor is elevated to the benefit of the masses.

Disinterested justice, humanity, and philanthropy, appear to have existed in individuals since the world began, but

never in communities. In communities these principles take root and flourish to the extent experience proves them applicable to the development of material interests.

The necessities of man require the subjugation of the earth, and man, in his necessities, is led or forced to acknowledge and adopt the principles of justice first, humanity next, and philanthropy last.

The decline of commercial slavery in America, we regard as a perfect exemplification of the truth of the foregoing remarks. Individual opposition to slavery in America, which had always existed, was of no effect until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when, after sustaining slavery for upwards of 150 years, the New England communities took measures to abolish the institution. An uncongenial climate and soil, combined with new and profitable developments in free labor, had, at this period, brought the institution of slavery to the last stages of existence throughout several of the northern colonies. What remained was becoming a nuisance.

Rhode Island, we believe, claims the honor of first initiating legislative measures of abolition.

We are indebted to ARNOLD'S *History of Rhode Island* for the following facts relative to the early legislation of that State on slavery :

" In 1770, an act to prohibit the further importation of slaves into Rhode Island was moved in the Assembly.

" In June, 1774, the subject of slavery, which for four years before had received attention, was again considered, in consequence of the action of the town of Providence. ' As those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others, reads the preamble, and then proceeds to enact, ' that for the future, no negro or mulattoe slave shall be brought into this colony,' or if any were brought in they should become free, except the servants of passing travellers, or of British colonists, residing here for a term of years, who, on their departure should take their slaves with them, or negroes brought from Africa by way of the West Indies, whose owners should give bonds to export them within one year. To prevent slaves being brought here for the purpose of receiving their freedom, and so becoming a charge upon the public, a fine was prescribed which was also attached to the harboring any slave thus introduced. In this decided action, Rhode Island again took the lead of all her sister colonies."

The preamble to the foregoing act is somewhat peculiar, when we consider that the act itself liberates nobody, but simply stops the importation of slaves *except for export*, defines the rights of transient parties to their slave property, the regular slave trader among the rest, and imposes a fine upon all who bring slaves into the colony to receive their freedom, or harbor any slaves thus introduced, to prevent their "becoming a charge upon the public."

In 1775, an emancipation act was presented to the Rhode Island Assembly, declaring free "all negroes as well as all other persons born in this colony."

This act was referred to a future session, and thus it remained until February, 1784, when it passed the Assembly. By this act,

"All children of slave mothers, after the first of March, were to be free, the cost of their rearing to be paid by the towns where they were born; and to defray these charges, the Council might bind out to service the males, till the age of 21, and the females till 18. The next year, the clause requiring them to be reared at the expense of the towns was repealed, and that charge was laid upon the owner of the mother."

There is much in the foregoing extracts that is worthy of attentive consideration. With all the desire to be rid of the negro, Rhode Island was disposed to afford legal rights and courteous treatment to strangers holding slaves, and whom business or pleasure brought within the limit of their laws; and in their act to prevent slaves being brought within the colony to receive their freedom, it is evident that the people would not then have facilitated the operations of the underground railroad, nor could the Assembly have been induced to pass a Personal Liberty Bill.

Though Rhode Island was the first to take steps for the abolition of slavery, Massachusetts is entitled to the honor of first abolishing the institution. That State, in 1780, inserted in her bill of rights that "all men are born free and equal," and in 1783, the Supreme Court decided that this declaration was a bar thereafter to slaveholding in the State. Thus,

slavery, which practically had died a natural death in Massachusetts, was legally buried in 1783, and that State became the first patch of legalized free soil in America.

In 1784, Connecticut passed an act which prohibited the introduction of slaves and declared that no negro or mulatto child born after the 1st day of March, 1784, should be held to servitude longer than till twenty-five years thereafter.

In 1780, Pennsylvania passed an act prohibiting the introduction of slaves, and declaring children born thereafter of slave mothers, free.

Virginia prohibited the further introduction of slaves in 1778, and in 1782, all legal restrictions on emancipation were removed.

Maryland pursued the same course in 1783.

New York and New Jersey prohibited the importation of slaves, but took no measures for the extinction of slavery within their limits till some years later,

North Carolina, in 1786, declared the introduction of slaves into that State of "evil consequences and highly impolitic."

In 1792, New Hampshire abolished slavery after the manner of Massachusetts.

The number of slaves in New England at the time measures of abolition were taken, must have been less than 5,000, worth in the aggregate \$1,000,000 more or less.

At this period, the most genuine feeling of dislike to the institution of slavery appears to have existed in those southern States where the number of slaves was the greatest, but whose material interests required its toleration and protection for the time being. The exports from Charleston, S. C., then exceeded those of any other port in the country, being something like \$3,000,000 in amount.

But in the North, slavery on the soil was suffered to die a natural, peaceful death, and it was consigned to an economical tomb under the auspices of professions of justice and humanity, somewhat carelessly mingled with legal obsequies.

Not so the *slave trade*. With the powerful political motive

in the North to prevent the increase of slaves in the South, each 50,000 of which gave a representative to the federal Congress, every northern State that voted on the question of making it unconstitutional to abolish the slave trade before 1808, except Pennsylvania and New Jersey, States having little or no interest in that branch of commerce, voted *aye*. The slave trade clause was carried by the votes of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, against Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The opposition of Virginia was very decided, inasmuch as the slave trade was not for her interest, the migration of her surplus slave population to other States having already commenced. Mr. MADISON was very strenuous that the slave trade should be limited to the year 1800, but he was overruled by precisely the same parties that are now known as Abolitionists in the North and Secessionists in the South.

How exceedingly interesting it is to follow the crooks and turns of human interests and human prejudices.

Rhode Island, whose interest in the slave trade exceeded that of any other State, was not represented in the Convention that framed the Constitution, but she ratified it May 29th, 1790.

Seven-eighths of all the slaves imported into the colonies, and subsequently into the States, from first to last, legally up to 1808, and illegally for twenty years after, were imported for account of and by British subjects and northern United States citizens, the importations being about equally divided between the two nationalities.

Leaving the British out of the question for the present, we argue that more might be said for the justice and humanity, and less for the thrift of the New England communities, especially those given to commerce, had they not, after purging their soil of the unprofitable sin of slave labor, clung with such unyielding tenacity to another and the most profitable branch of the business—the *slave trade*.

But in ravishing Africa of the heathen descendants of HAM, and transporting them to Christian countries, where, as the

servants of the sons of JAPHET, they could enjoy the light of the Gospel, the ancient and deep-rooted idea that God's work was being done may have been the principal incentive that actuated northern citizens in following up that peculiar branch of commerce in human flesh so perseveringly. Let this be as it may, the charitable mantle of oblivion might with propriety be cast over the past, but for the very sudden change of certain sections in the North from slave trading as God's work, to Abolitionism as God's work. Impartial history can never speak of that sudden change as legitimate or honest. It now appears as though its results to the country at large would prove disastrous in the extreme.

In our remarks relative to the abolition of slavery in the northern States, we have not made mention of any particular State or section for the purpose of instituting invidious comparisons. No, nothing of the kind is intended. Such remarks as we have made on the subject, we consider applicable to all portions of the North that may be regarded as abolitionized, and we have said nothing except in the spirit of candor and justice, having no earthly motive to gratify except that which prompts us to do what little lies in our power to expose that spurious and cheap humanity which has its source in gall—which withers and destroys everything in life it touches, and upon which a great sectional party has acquired the administrative power in these dis-United States.

In 1787, the last Continental Congress, sitting in New York simultaneously with the Convention in Philadelphia which framed the present Federal Constitution, passed what is known as "*An ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio.*" The following is the last article contained in this ordinance :

"There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, where the parties shall be duly convicted."

Slavery was certainly national when it required special

legislation to secure freedom in any part of the common territory.

The Ordinance passed unanimously. The territory referred to was that which had been ceded to the federation by Virginia. There does not appear to have been any particular excitement relative to the Ordinance. It passed unanimously, and it would appear as if by universal consent, that something like a balance of political power should be maintained between free and slave territory, that fatal provision in the Constitution giving a representative to Congress for every 50,000 slaves, doubtless being the secret, if not the openly declared cause; and though nothing like what now constitutes a sectional party existed in those days, the line then drawn has been made a sectional line by the Abolition-republican party of the present day.

Agreeably to the provision in the Constitution of the United States, permitting the abolition of the slave trade in 1808, Congress passed a law making the importation of negro slaves illegal from that period.

The first act for the gradual abolition of slavery in the State of New York, was passed March 22, 1799.

On the 9th of April, 1813, the legislature of that State passed "*An act concerning slaves and servants*," from which we extract the following:

"I. Be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, That every negro, mulatto or mestee within this State, who is now a slave for life, shall continue such unless such slave shall be manumitted according to law; and that the baptizing of any slave shall not be deemed to be a manumission of such slave:

"V. And be it further enacted, That no person held as a slave shall be imported, introduced or brought into this State, on any pretence whatever, by any person coming permanently to reside within this State for the space of nine months, shall be considered as having a permanent residence therein within the meaning of this act, but it shall not be construed to extend to such persons as may reside within this State for a shorter period: and if any person so held as slave, shall be imported, introduced or brought into this State, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he shall be and is hereby declared free: and any slave who shall have been imported, introduced or brought into this State

contrary to the foregoing directions, since the first day of May, 1810, shall be and is hereby declared free.

“VII. And be it further enacted, That every child born of a slave within this State after the fourth of July, in the year of our Lord 1799; shall be free, but shall remain the servant of the owner of his mother and the executors or administrators of such owner, in the same manner as if such child had been bound to service by the overseers of the poor, and shall continue in such service, if a male, until the age of twenty-eight years, and if a female, until the age of twenty-five years.”

Under these provisions, slavery in the State of New York became entirely extinct about the year 1840.

February 24th, 1820, New Jersey passed an act for the gradual abolition of slavery, and other purposes respecting slaves.—*R. S.*, 380.

“Every child born a slave within this State since the fourth day of July, 1804, or which shall hereafter be born as aforesaid, shall be free, but shall remain the servant of the owner of his mother, and the executors, administrators, or assigns of such owners, in the same manner as if such child had been bound to service by the trustees or overseers of the poor, and shall continue in such service, if a male, until the age of twenty-five years, and if female, until the age of twenty-one years.”

The census of 1860 gave eight slaves as then living in New Jersey.

A bill prohibiting slavery in all that territory purchased of Louisiana, lying north of thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, north latitude, and known as the Missouri Compromise, passed the Congress of the United States in 1821.

During the progress of these events in America, matters were taking a decided turn in certain parts of Europe, against the slave trade.

CHRISTIAN VII., king of Denmark, or rather FREDERICK VI, who then ruled that kingdom as regent, took measures to abolish the slave trade in his dominions as early as 1792, and in 1803, the trade was declared abolished. The Danes owned the West India islands, St. Thomas and St. Croix; but owing to difficulties in suppressing the contraband traffic, the trade was not entirely suppressed until many years afterward.

In England, the abolition of the slave trade had become a subject of systematic agitation. It will be remembered that the Spanish *asiento* contract was obtained by Cadiz traders in 1773. England had also lost her American colonies, which somewhat curtailed her slave trading operations ; and during the war with the colonies, her general traffic in human flesh with all parts of America had materially declined. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, the humanitarians, GRANVILLE SHARPE and Mr. CLARKESON caused the subject to be brought before Parliament in 1786, and May 12th, 1789, Mr. WILBERFORCE moved a series of resolutions in Parliament, condemnatory of the traffic, and these resolutions passed. No practical result from this move was obtained, however, till after degrees of investigation and discussion had been reached and passed, and it was ascertained that the general interests of Great Britain and her American possessions, as well as those of justice and humanity, would be promoted by the non-importation of negro slaves. It required twenty years to bring English material interests up to the humanitarian resolutions passed by Parliament in 1789. In March, 1807, a bill abolishing the slave trade on and after January 1st, 1808, passed both houses of Parliament by a large majority.

France took measures to abolish the slave trade in 1814. In the treaty made with England at that time, LOUIS XVIII. declared in an additional article that he reciprocated the sentiments of England relative to a branch of commerce so repulsive to the principles of natural justice and contrary to the spirit of the age. It was fixed that the French should cease the traffic in five years from that date. In 1815, this stipulation was renewed, and in 1819, France, so far as she could by legislation, put a stop to the slave trade.

In 1814, Spain stipulated with England to abolish the slave trade in 1822.

Portugal, in 1815, also agreed with England that her slave trade should be abolished north of the equator, from that period, and everywhere in 1823.

It now becomes necessary to turn to another course of events in another part of the world.

While those measures tending to the extinction of slavery, which we have narrated, were being adopted, NAPOLEON was enacting his grand military drama in continental Europe. One of the direct consequences of the political changes caused in Europe, by NAPOLEON, was universal revolution throughout the Spanish American possessions, which, in the course of ten years, resulted in the complete overthrow and disappearance of the Spanish power on the American continent.

All of these Spanish American Revolutions commenced in 1810, and all had come to a successful close before 1825. One stupendous result of these revolutions was the elevation of over 7,000,000 aborigines from the level of brutes to that of human beings.

In the following account of slavery, its original status, peculiarities, and decline in the Spanish American possessions, the various countries will be taken up in the order of their political divisions.

MEXICO.

The Mexican revolution commenced Sept. 16th, 1810, and terminated Feb. 24th, 1821. A federal Constitution was adopted Oct. 4th, 1824.

In the plan of Iguala, under which independence was proclaimed and secured, Art. 3d declares that the people of Mexico were "united, without any distinction between Americans and Europeans;" and in Art. 11th, that, "The distinction of castes is abolished, which was made by the Spanish law, excluding them from the rights of citizenship. All the inhabitants of the country are citizens and equal, and the door of advancement is open to virtue and merit."

By Art. 36, of the Constitution of 1824, it is declared that, "The nation is bound to protect, by wise and just laws, civil liberty, personal security, prosperity, equality of legal rights, and all the other rights of the individuals who compose it."

In 1829, under the Presidency of General GUERRERO, the entire abolition of slavery was consummated by the following decree :

"The President of the United Mexican States to the Inhabitants of the same :

"Be it known—That, being desirous to signalize the anniversary of independence, in the year 1829, by an act of national justice and beneficence, which may redound to the advantage and support of so inestimable a good, which may further insure the public tranquillity ; which may tend to the aggrandizement of the republic, and may reinstate an unfortunate portion of its inhabitants in the sacred rights which nature gave to them, and the nation should protect by wise and just laws, conformably with the dispositions of the thirtieth article of the constituent act, employing the extraordinary faculties which have been conceded to me, I have resolved to decree :

Art. 1.—"Slavery is, and shall remain abolished in the republic.

Art. 2.—"In consequence, those who have hitherto been regarded as slaves, are free.

Art. 3.—"Whenever the condition of the treasury shall permit, the owners of the slaves shall be indemnified according to the terms which the law may dispose.

"GUERRERO.

"Mexico, Sept. 15th, 1829."

Under the "Plan of Toluca," or Central Constitution of 1836, and the Presidency of Bustamente, a further decree was issued, as follows :

Art. 1. "Slavery is abolished, without any exception, throughout the whole republic.

Art. 2. "The owners of the slaves manumitted by the present law, or by the decree of Sept. 15, 1829, shall be indemnified for their interests in them, to be estimated according to the proofs which may be presented of their personal qualities ; to which effect, one appraiser shall be appointed by the Commissary General, or the person performing his duties, and another by the owner ; and in case of disagreement, a third, who shall be appointed by the respective constitutional alcalde ; and from the decision thus made there shall be no appeal. The indemnification mentioned in this article shall not be extended to the colonists of Texas, who may have taken part in the revolution in that department.

Art. 3. "The owners to whom the original documents drawn up with regard to the proofs mentioned in the preceding article, shall be delivered gratis, shall themselves present them to the Supreme Government, which will authorize the general treasury to issue to them the corresponding orders for the amount of their respective interests.

Art. 4. "The payment of the said orders shall be made in the manner which may seem most equitable to the government, with the view of reconciling the rights of individuals with the actual state of the public finances."

April 5th, 1837.

The Constitution of 1843, *Bases organicas de la Republica Mejicana*, of that year, declares, Title 2d, that :

"No one is a slave in the territory of the nation, and that any slave who may be introduced, shall be considered free, and remain under the protection of the laws."

The Constitution of 1847, which, in fact, is the old Federal Constitution of 1824, does not reenact this clause ; but in the *Acta de Reformas* annexed to it, it is declared :

Art. 1st. "That every Mexican, either by birth or naturalization, who has attained the age of twenty years, who possesses the means of an honest livelihood, and who has not been condemned by legal process to any infamous punishment, is a citizen of the United Mexican States," and in Art. 5th, "In order to secure the rights of man, which the Constitution recognize, a law shall fix the guaranties of liberty, security, property and equality, which all the inhabitants of the republic enjoy, and shall establish the means to make them effective."

In the present Constitution of Mexico, that of 1857, we find the following :

Art. 2. "In the republic all are born free. Slaves that set foot upon the national territory recover, by that single act, their liberty, and have a right to the protection of the laws."

Art. 4. Every one is free to embrace the profession, industry or labor which pleases him, it being useful and honest, and to enjoy its products. Neither the one nor the other shall be interfered with, except through judicial sentence, when attacking the rights of a third party, or by an order of government, dictated in the terms prescribed by the law, when offending the rights of society.

Art. 5. No one shall be obliged to render personal service without just compensation, and without his full consent. The law shall not authorize any contract which has for its object the loss, or the irrevocable sacrifice of personal liberty, whether it be for the purpose of labor, of education, or religious vow. Neither shall there be authorized agreements by which an individual consents to his own banishment or disfranchisement."

The foregoing legislative acts in Mexico, have direct reference to *negro and mulatto* slaves. *Indian* slavery and its abolition will be noticed hereafter.

In 1530, considerable numbers of negro slaves were found in the State of Vera Cruz. As the country was explored and occupied by the Spaniards, this class of laborers came into demand, principally, to work the sugar plantations. Hence, in certain portions of the States of Vera Cruz, Puebla, Oajaca, Tabasco, Chiapas, Guerrero and Colima, the valleys of Cuernavaca, Cuautla etc., negro slaves in considerable numbers were employed for upward of two and a half centuries.

It cannot be said, however, that negro slavery in Mexico was ever carried out extensively, or proved much of a success. From the first of the eighteenth century to the latter part of the same, the institution was at the height of all the prosperity it ever enjoyed in that country; and the number of negro slaves at any one time during this period, could not have exceeded 100,000.

The natives of Mexico, in numbers and hardihood, proved too much, even for the iron rigor of Spanish rule, and although millions were destroyed, enough remained—probably as many as could be managed—to serve the general purposes of labor throughout New Spain.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, we find the institution of negro slavery in Mexico tending to rapid decay. In the first place, the expense and risk of introducing negroes into those sections not immediately contiguous to Vera Cruz, had considerably increased; the Indians evinced more than ordinary restiveness, which had a bad effect on the negro; and the negro slaves raised in the country, with their descendants by the Indians, called *Zambos*, were becoming vicious and unmanageable. Consequently, the demand for negroes fell off, and in certain sections measures were adopted to emancipate the negro slaves and work them under a system of free labor.

This experiment was fully and successfully tried on some of the largest sugar plantations. In the valleys of Cuerna-

vaca and Cuautla Amilpas, the principal proprietors liberated a certain number of their slaves annually, and encouraged them to remain on the estates as free laborers. So successful did this system prove, that, on many of the largest estates in Cuernavaca, there was not a single negro slave in the year 1808. The policy of this measure became still more apparent in 1810, for as soon as the revolution broke out, those planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation were abandoned at once by their slaves, and forced, in some instances, to give up working their estates ; while those who had provided themselves, in time, with a mixed caste of free laborers, retained, even during the worst of times, a sufficient number of hands to enable them to cultivate their lands, although upon a reduced scale.

The labor of the estates in Mexico worked under the free system, proceeded without compulsion, anything like coercive measures being scarcely known. But such a mixture of negroes, Indians and Zambos was productive of a very low order of civilization.

We find in "Ward's Mexico," written in 1827, a comparison made between the result of free labor on sugar estates in Mexico, and slave labor on sugar estates in Cuba, as follows :

"One hundred and fifty slaves are employed, in the island of Cuba, upon a plantation capable of producing one thousand cases, or 16,000 *arrobas** of sugar (vide Humboldt's *Essai Politique sur l'île de Cuba*), while, in the valley of Cuautla, one hundred and fifty free laborers are found sufficient for a hacienda, which yields from 32 to 40,000 *arrobas*. Thus (supposing the expense in other respects to be the same), in the one case, the produce of each individual would be 2,666 lbs., and in the other 5,332 lbs., or even 6,666 lbs., taking the maximum of 40,000 *arrobas*. The correctness of this calculation depends of course upon the comparative fertility of the soil of the island of Cuba, and in the valley of Cuautla Amilpas, respecting which I am not competent to give an opinion. There is no reason, however, to suppose that there is any superiority in the soil of Cuautla, sufficiently great to account for so marked a difference in the amount of the sugar, raised by an equal number of laborers ; for the elevation of the valley above the level of the ocean, renders it impossible to apply Humboldt's estimate of the extraordinary fertility of Vera Cruz to the plantations of Cuautla or Cuernavaca."

* An arroba is 25 pounds.

In view of the foregoing, let it not be said that the experiment of free negro labor in the tropics, on a large scale, was never successfully tried.

It is a curious fact, and worthy of note, that the process of gradually abolishing negro slavery commenced simultaneously in New England and the Spanish colonies of Mexico, for precisely the same cause, namely, the institution had become unprofitable.

In New England, slavery was abolished by law, while in Mexico, the measures taken to this end were voluntary on the part of the Spanish planters.

Here we find the cold and sterile North and the hot and fruitful tropics, the cool, calculating and thrifty New Englander, and the extravagant, showy, hard-hearted Spaniard—giving in their evidence against negro slavery and abolishing it as an unprofitable institution.

Before the Mexican revolution had terminated, in 1821, nearly every vestige of negro slavery in Mexico had disappeared. Many of the slaves fled, others were liberated, and when GUERRERO issued his decree of immediate and universal emancipation in 1829, there were not 10,000 negroes and mulattoes held as slaves throughout the entire republic, to take advantage of the liberty thus decreed.

In the northern tier of Mexican States, in Durango, San Luis Potosi, Jalisco, Michoacan, and Queretaro, the negro was rarely seen except as the servant of a Spaniard. Considerable numbers of mulattoes are found in the State of Guerrero. Some remain in the States of Oajaca, Tabasco and Chiapas. The term *Lobo* is generally applied to these mulattoes, from the peculiar tint of their complexion, which resembles that of the Mexican wolf called *Lobo*. In Vera Cruz and vicinity, a few negroes, and quite a number of mulattoes, known as *Jarochos*, are concentrated. In 1803, HUMBOLDT, in his classification of the inhabitants of the city of Mexico, gave 10,000 mulattoes. This race has disappeared, and the pure negro is not to be found on any of the table lands of the country. The dry and rarefied atmosphere of those regions is destructive to his race.

We do not believe there is enough negro blood in all Mexico to make 20,000 pure negroes, notwithstanding a prominent legislator very gravely remarked to us recently, that he calculated one-third of the Mexican population was of the pure negro race, which would give about 2,500,000 negroes to the republic.

The question of reëstablishing or extending negro slavery over Mexico, which is now a prominent subject of agitation in the public mind, can be disposed of in very few words.

The Cordilleras occupy the great central portion of Mexico, leaving a strip of low land on either coast, narrow and irregular in outline, known as the *tierra caliente*; and these low lands are cut up at frequent intervals by mountain ridges and spurs—the whole being of volcanic formation. Now the apostles of the “irrepressible conflict” doctrine must make it appear in the first place, that the slavery propagandists can cause the Mexican Cordilleras, the backbone of the country, with all the detached spurs and ridges, to sink into the earth, and leave in their place, low, hot, moist and rich plains. Next, the irrepressibles must prove that the slavery extensionists can speedily annihilate some seven or eight millions of Mexicans, who, in their turn, will fight for freedom to the last drop of their blood. And lastly, it must be made to appear that the slave trade can be opened, and the price of good field hands reduced to \$200. All this being accomplished, slavery extension into Mexico might stand some chance.

Take comfort, then, O ye simple-minded natives in the North, who have been taught to shiver and shake in holy horror of slavery extension. Eschew the gospel of uneasiness and be comforted. Do not attempt to take the Higher Law into your own hands, to work out the end the Higher Law had already accomplished some time before you came into existence. The only difficulty is, you do not acknowledge the Higher Law, whose commands you pretend to obey. Cast aside, therefore, your superstitious notions; eschew Abolition, Jacobin teachings, and study our frontiers—Mexico, *nature*, God. If you cannot bring yourselves

right on the subject, train up your children in the way they should go, and let us have some hope that the next generation will repair the national mischief perpetrated by the present.

THE SUBJECT OF INDIAN SLAVERY IN MEXICO, AND THE Spanish American countries generally, while under the rule of Spain, requires some notice here.

No sooner did the natives of the West India islands become acquainted with the Spaniards who thronged to their shores immediately on the discovery, than they began to evince a very strong and very natural aversion to the strangers. LAS CASAS declared that the Indians shunned the Spaniards as naturally as "sparrows the sparrowhawk." This led to coercive measures on the part of the Spaniards, looking at first to intercourse simply, but which soon resulted in the forcible subjugation of the natives, the natural and speedy consequence of which was their abasement to a horribly destructive system of slavery. The peculiarly ingenious manner in which the Spaniards blended deviltry with piety, and which cannot now be called one of the "lost arts," caused them to look upon the Indians as cattle with souls. They hunted the poor natives, subjugated them, and worked up their bodies that their souls might enter paradise; the idea of which, when told that he would meet Christians there, drove a famous cacique to such despair that he went and hung himself.

In 1495, COLUMBUS sent back to Spain from Hispaniola, four ships loaded with Indian slaves.

In 1496, BARTHOLOMEW COLUMBUS sent to Spain 300 Indian slaves from Hispaniola.

In 1498, COLUMBUS sent to Spain, in five vessels, 600 Indian slaves. All these Indians were captured in the island of Hispaniola by Spanish war parties.

COLUMBUS, in his letters to LOS REYES, estimates that, "in the name of the sacred Trinity," there may be sent as many slaves as sale could be found for in Spain, and that the value of the slaves, for whom there would be a demand to the num-

ber of 4,000, as he calculated from certain information, and of the logwood, would amount to forty *cuentos*, equivalent to about \$60,000. It was also proposed at this time to exchange Indian slaves for goods wanted from the mother country.

In the year 1497, letters patent were issued from LOS REYES, authorizing *repartimientos*, or partitions of lands in the Indies to the colonizing Spaniards. Following upon this system of dividing up the lands, regulations that the lands so divided should be cultivated by the Indians under the direction of their caciques, were established. An improvement upon this system was soon devised, namely, stocking the lands with Indian slaves who should belong to the estate and perform the labor thereof. Later, a new form of *repartimiento* is found. ANTONIO DE LEON the jurist, defines it as follows :

“ *Repartimiento* in New Spain, is that which is made every week of the Indians who are given for mines and works by the judges for that purpose (*los Juezes Repartidores*), for which the *pueblos* contribute throughout the twenty weeks of the year, what they call a *dobla* (a Spanish coin), at the rate of ten Indians for every hundred ; and the remainder of the year what they call a *sencilla* (another Spanish coin), at the rate of two Indians for every hundred. The above rate was for works and cultivation of land. When it was for mines, to work for which particular *pueblos* were set aside, it was a contribution for the whole year, at the rate of four Indians for every hundred !”

At an early day, a simple division of Indians was made among the colonists, giving to one 50, to another 100, to another 500, to another 1,000, etc., in *encomienda*, as it was called, after the following form, or deed as first given by OVANDO, governor of Hispaniola, in 1503 :

“ To you, such a one, is given an *encomienda* of so many Indians with such a cacique, and you are to teach them the things of our holy faith.”

A correspondence between OVANDO, governor of Hispaniola, and their majesties, touching the Indians at this time, is worthy of note, as involving a variety of interests, and the kind of freedom decreed to the Indians.

OVANDO wrote that the Indians fled from the Spaniards and could not be induced to hold intercourse with them ; all of

which proved a decided hindrance to their conversion and seriously retarded the prosperity of the colony. To which their majesties replied, directing OVANDO to *compel* the Indians to have dealings with the Spaniards, *and work on such terms as he might think fit*. It was further ordered that the Indians should go and hear mass and be instructed in the faith; and that they should do all these things "*as free persons, for so they are*."

The word *encomienda* originally implied a "Commandery in a military order," but in its application to the division of Indians, it signified a preceptory charge. Later, we find the Spanish jurists thus defining the *institution* :

"*Encomienda* is a right conceded by royal bounty (*á merced y voluntad del Rey*) to well-deserving persons in the Indies, to receive and enjoy for themselves the tributes of the Indians who should be assigned to them, with a charge of providing for the good of those Indians in spiritual and temporal matters, and of inhabiting and defending the provinces where these *encomiendas* should be granted to them."

In such language as this were the aborigines found in America by the Spaniards, condemned to unmitigated body and soul-crushing slavery, the profits arising from the system being divided between the crown, the church, and the lordly *encomiendero*.

At an early date, the capitation tax was established, by which each Indian was required to pay a sum varying from three to fifteen dollars per annum. Then came the terrible *Mita* law, by which a certain number of Indians were required to labor by turns in the mines and produce a stated amount. The sufferings caused the Indians by this law are almost beyond belief. Some of the mining districts in various parts of Spanish America were nearly depopulated by it, and in consequence, this law was mitigated from time to time, and finally declared abolished during the latter part of the reign of CHARLES III.

The policy of Spain was to create a market in her American colonies for her own products and manufactures—to supply them with provisions as well as fabricated goods—and receive

in return, the largest possible amount that could be extracted from the mines. The commerce and trade growing out of all this was secured to the Spaniards as a monopoly ; and to support the colonial government and keep up the flow of treasure into the royal coffers, the *industry* of the colonies was taxed. The contrivance of Spain was to aggrandize herself at the expense of the common rights of humanity ; and among the millions of aborigines who toiled under Spanish domination, the fell purpose of this contrivance was wrought out, causing an amount of human woe that the mind of man cannot compass.

It is the general custom among writers to condemn the *Spanish colonists* for their cruel treatment of the Indians, and hold the *government* of Spain excusable. By giving certain extracts from *Las Leyes de las Indias*, the Acts of the Council of the Indias, and royal decrees, in which the Indians are declared *hombres libres*, and otherwise spoken of as persons who must be protected and favored, the general impression is created that the government of Spain is in no very great degree, responsible for the cruel treatment of the Indians by the conquerors and colonists of Spanish America. We take a contrary view of this matter, and believe the responsibility of nearly all the dire evils brought upon the Indians by the Spanish adventurers, is directly chargeable upon the home government.

After the conquerors of Spanish America had killed off a great many millions of the aborigines, and thus reduced their numbers to a manageable figure, it became apparent to the crown that a stop must be put to the further wholesale destruction of the Indians, in order that laborers might be had to develop what was regarded as the great resource of the New World, namely, the mines. Negroes could not be made available for this purpose, and therefore it became necessary to preserve enough of the native population to meet that requirement.

This population being brought into the work, it became necessary to guard against *émeutes* and rebellions, that the

hazard of holding the colonial possessions and the expense of maintaining their government, might not be unduly augmented. It became necessary, therefore, to reduce the intelligence and position of the Indians to as near the level of the brute as possible, and at the same time have a care not to so oppress, as to drive to that desperation which will cause humanity, even of the lowest order, to turn upon the oppressor.

To meet these necessities in a pious way, the laws of Spain regulating the Indians of the colonies, appear to have been framed. For every clause tending to protect and favor the Indian, there were two holding him to the most abject servitude.

It may be said that the slavery of the Spanish-American Indians on the continent, was of a harsher character than that of the negroes, inasmuch as the negro, who had cost 300 or 400 dollars cash, was valued higher and treated with more consideration than the native Indian, whose first cost was the catching and breaking in, and who was held to the soil by ties of association and kindred.

The intellectual capacities of the Indians of Mexico were naturally of a finer and far higher order than those of the negro, and for this reason, it was necessary to practise greater cruelty and enforce more systematic degradation upon the Indian, in order to keep him under, than upon the negro.

There was only one exception to this rule. The absolute sale of Indians for transfer from country to country and point to point, almost entirely ceased after the West India islands were supplied with negroes. This did not form a part of the system on the continent, as the removal of the Indians from where they were born and reared, would break the strongest tie by which they were held in bondage. In this respect, it must be said that the *status* of the Indian slave in the Spanish possessions on the continent, was different from that of the negro slave. It fell to the lot of the Spanish-American Indian to live and die a wretched slave to rapa-

cious, foreign task-masters, in the land of his birth, the home of his race.

The following is an extract from the writings of LAS CASAS :

“ As for the continent it is certain, and what I myself know to be true, that the Spaniards have ruined ten kingdoms there, bigger than all Spain, by the commission of all sorts of barbarity and unheard of cruelties. They have driven away or killed all the inhabitants, so that all these kingdoms are desolate to this day (1560), and reduced to a most deplorable condition, though this was the best peopled country in the world. We dare assert, without fear of exaggerating, that in the space of those 40 years in which the Spaniards exercised their intolerable tyranny in this New World, they unjustly put to death above 12,000,000 of people, counting men, women and children; and it may be affirmed, without injury to truth, upon a just calculation, that during this space of time above 50,000,000 have died in these countries.”

The general truth of LAS CASAS' statements cannot be doubted ; but it is to be hoped that his stupendous numerals are exaggerations.

We have given 7,000,000 as the number of Indian slaves liberated by the Spanish American revolutions. This is probably a low estimate. In 1823, Humboldt estimated the Indian population of Spanish America, the civilized or settled Indians, as they are called, to be 7,530,000. The number must have been considerably greater in 1810, when the revolution first broke out. General MILLER estimates the number of human beings destroyed by the sword in Spanish America between 1810 and 1825, at 1,000,000! MILLER, though a partisan, was considered candid and well informed. The Indians were destroyed by thousands on the slightest pretext. It has been stated on good authority that MORILLO shed more blood in one year, in the single State of Venezuela, than was shed in the thirteen North American colonies during the seven years of their Revolutionary struggle.

It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that the Spanish American revolutions broke the fetters of 7,000,000 of human beings, and raised them from the brute level to that of humanity. Of this number, something more than half must be allotted to Mexico.

One of the human beings thus liberated and elevated, is **BENITO JUAREZ**, President of the republic of Mexico, a pure Indian, and said to be of the Toltec race, driven from **Anahuac** by the Aztecs—he who has clung to the last hope of his race and nation with a tenacity that death alone could relax, and by his unyielding determination, pure patriotism, and incorruptible integrity, guided the nation through a desperate and bloody revolution—the only real revolution they have had in Mexico since the independence—and saved his country.

Away down in Oajaca, where the winds sweep through the tall cypress in mournful sighs, and the stupendous and gloomy surroundings of nature invite to profound and melancholy repose, is **MITLA**. The signification of this word in the Indian language of the country, is, *the place of sadness*; and here are found the extraordinary remains of what are known as the sepulchral palaces of the ancient kings of Mexico. From this region comes President **JUAREZ**. Rising as it were from the tombs of his ancestors, he liberates his country from the evils imposed upon it by a nation not as old as those visible remains of the sepulchres of his own race. In **JUAREZ** we see a mysterious connection between the unknown, dead Past, and the living Present. In **JUAREZ** we see the romance and the reality of Mexico.

At the conclusion of the Mexican war of independence in 1821, the Spanish *régime* by which the Indians were held in bondage under the *encomiendas* and *repartimientos*, the laws of tribute, distinction of castes, etc., disappeared. The *Plan of Iguala*, proclaimed 1821, says in Article 11: “The distinction of castes is abolished, which was, by the Spanish law, excluding them from the rights of citizenship.” This referred to the Indians. The decree of **GUERRERO** in 1829 referred to negro slaves, and whatever may have been the faults of the Mexican nation since it cast off the Spanish yoke, the numerous extracts that have been given from their various constitutions and decrees, evince a deep and undying hatred to the system of involuntary servitude, and an unequivocal denial of the doctrine that man has a right to hold property in man.

Peonage, which some characterize as a species of masked slavery, is a system by which the labor of the country is regulated, having been established by the Mexican government since the war of independence. This peonage is not masked slavery, nor is there anything of slavery attached to the system. The Mexican peon can be one of the most independent laboring men in existence, if he chooses; or he can enjoy the luxury of being in debt.

YUCATAN.

This former Captain-Generalship having joined with Mexico in the war of independence, became incorporated with that republic under the federal Constitution of 1824, and consequently, has been governed by the same legislation as Mexico.

Negro slavery scarcely ever had existence in Yucatan.

GUATEMALA.

On the 21st September, 1821, the Captain-Generalship of Guatemala became an independent State, and united itself with the republic of Mexico; but on the 1st July, 1823, it became a separate government, and eventually the confederation of the five Central American States of Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, with the territory of the Mosquito, was formed.

A constitution for the new republic was adopted by the National Assembly on the 22d of November, 1824.

SQUIRE'S Nicaragua says :

"The Constitution of 1824 contained guaranties of individual rights, the representative principle, habeas corpus, and the liberty of the press.

"Among the acts of the Assembly which formed the Constitution was a Decree issued on the 17th April, 1824, abolishing slavery absolutely and at once, and providing against its reëstablishment at any time or in any part of the republic.

"The slave trade was declared to be piracy, and the heaviest penalties were declared against all persons who should engage in it directly or indirectly.

"To the Republic of Central America, therefore, belongs the glory of having

been the first country in the world to abolish negro slavery. And to the policy marked out by its first constituent assembly, it has ever and faithfully adhered. It was the adoption of this measure which led to its first dispute with Great Britain, that loud-mouthed advocate of philanthropy, when philanthropy is profitable, and never otherwise.

"Will it be credited, that as late as 1840, a claim enforced by vessels of war, was made against Central America by the British Government, for slaves who had fled from Belize, and secured their freedom under the Constitution of Central America? Yet such is the fact—the black, damning fact."

In all the republic of Central America, negro slavery never attained to any great extent. Very few negroes and but little evidence of negro blood can now be found in Guatemala, or the Central American states:

In 1838, the confederacy was dissolved, Guatemala, as well as other states, becoming independent republics.

NEW GRANADA.

In 1810, the Spanish authority in the Vice-Royalty of New Granada and Captain-Generalship of Venezuela, was thrown off, and an incessant war against that power maintained until 1824, when the Spaniards were finally vanquished.

In 1819, the Congress of Angostura met, and the Republic of Colombia was proclaimed, in which Venezuela was united with New Granada, and on the 30th August, 1821, a federal Constitution was adopted.

This union, however, lasted only ten years. In November, 1829, Venezuela seceded from the republic, and in May, 1830, the province now known as Ecuador, also withdrew.

The central part of Colombia then constituted itself the republic of New Granada, by a decree adopted on the 21st November, 1831, and in 1832 a new Constitution was proclaimed, which, in 1842–3 was revised, and was afterward known as the reformed Constitution of 1843.

A Report by the Minister of the Interior of the republic of Colombia, presented to the National Congress on the 22d

April, 1823 (when Venezeula and Ecuador were included in the republic), says, under the head of "Slavery" :

"The law of 21st July, 1821, gave liberty to the children of female slaves, abolished the trade in negroes, and the boards of manumission have since been in activity throughout the republic."

In December of the same year (1823), the period fixed for the liberation of slaves by purchase, it was carried into effect, and the Legislature of Colombia received the blessings of thousands restored to the condition of men.

By a law of the Congress of the republic of Colombia, passed on the 18th of February, 1825, the slave trade was declared piracy, and made punishable with death.

The first General Congress of Colombia passed the following law with reference to the Indian population, 11th October, 1821 :

" Art. 1. The *Indigenos* of Colombia, called Indians in the Spanish code, shall not in the future pay the impost known by the degrading name of 'tribute,' nor shall they be obliged to render any service or labor to any class of persons without the payment of just compensation, which shall be stipulated beforehand.

"They shall be in all respects equal to other citizens, and shall be protected by the same laws."

All these laws and provisions of the former republic of Colombia and of New Granada, with regard to slavery and the rights of the Indians, were reaffirmed by and incorporated into the revised code of laws of New Granada, which went into effect on the 1st of October, 1843.

VENEZUELA.

This Captain-Generalship having united with the Vice-Royalty of New Granada in the revolution of 1810, became a part of the republic of Colombia, and was regulated by the Constitution of 1821, and subsequent laws, by which the abolition of slavery was consummated the same as in other States of the Republic.

PERU.

The Peruvian revolution commenced in 1810 and the independence of the country was proclaimed on the 28th of July, 1821. Among the first legislative acts of the new government was a decree which declared that the children of slaves born in Peru after the 28th July, 1821, should be free.

This was followed by another, abolishing the tribute, and enacting that the aborigines be thenceforth denominated Peruvians like the creoles.

In Art. 152 of the first Constitution of Peru it is declared that no one is born a slave in the republic, neither does any one enter from other countries who is not made free when he treads on Peruvian soil.

Should any Peruvian be found guilty of importing slaves into the republic for the purpose of traffic, the Constitution declares that he shall be deprived of his rights of citizenship. The internal traffic, however, continued up to 1855, though it was confined to buying and selling such slaves as existed in the country before the war of independence began, or to such of their offspring as were born before the year 1820, when Peru was no longer the acknowledged patrimony of the Spaniards.

By decree of the Constitutional Government of Peru, in 1855, slavery was finally and entirely abolished, and the capitation tax to which the Indians had been subjected since the time of the Spaniards was made to cease.

The government of Peru obligated itself to pay for the negro slaves, some 25,000 in number, liberated by the decree of 1855.

As in Mexico, negro slavery in Peru was confined to a few agricultural districts of limited extent. The principal districts were Ica, Cañeta, Santa, Huacho, and the neighborhood of the capital.

The Indians only were employed to work the mines. These are located in the higher regions, where the negro does not thrive. We have stated that negro slaves were

never taken by the Spaniards to work the mines on the continent.

CHILI.

The revolution was commenced, and a Provisional Government established in Chili in 1810. Independence was declared on the 12th February, 1818.

The present Constitution was adopted on the 25th May, 1833.

By this Constitution, slavery is abolished forever, the slave trade forbidden under severe penalties, and every person who treads the soil of the republic is declared free.

No stranger engaged in the slave trade is permitted to reside in Chili.

LA PLATA

In 1816, the Constitutional Assembly of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata declared those countries independent of Spain, and in 1821, the Spanish troops were finally expelled.

In 1824, the independence of the Provinces of the La Plata was recognized by the English government.

The slave trade was abolished under severe penalties, by a decree of the first Constitutional Assembly of the Provinces in 1813.

During the war of independence, slavery in the Provinces became nearly extinct, mainly by liberations. Entire regiments were formed of the blacks thus liberated, and under the name of *libertos*, they were enrolled in the service of the republic. At one time their numbers reached as high as 5,000.

The slaves had also the privilege of buying their freedom at any time, by paying the original purchase money. By these means, slavery was gradually and quietly extinguished in the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.

BRAZIL.

(*Originally Portuguese.*)

We have not included some 300,000 Brazilian Indians, in our enumeration of Indian slaves liberated by the revolutions of 1810 on the continent. At first, the Portuguese enslaved the Indians in Brazil, and their system of slavery was as burdensome and destructive as that of the Spaniards ; but there appears to have been a determined and partially successful action, on the part of the Portuguese government, to protect the aborigines of Brazil.

By a decree of the Portuguese government, in 1755, the natives of Brazil were declared free and entitled to the name and all the rights of citizens ; and though this had very little effect in elevating that degraded class, and though, in certain localities, considerable numbers of the natives continued in abject servitude, it cannot be said that the few hundred thousand Indians scattered throughout the vast empire of Brazil were slaves (like the Spanish-American Indians) when Brazil became independent of Portugal in 1822, and commenced her new political career, under a constitutional hereditary monarchy, with Dom PEDRO I. as emperor.

Until quite recently, no light shade can be given to the history of slavery in Brazil. That country has been one immense grave-yard for Africans. The short run from the coast of Africa to Brazilian ports, the great extent of country adapted to negro labor, and the destructive system under which slaves were worked, induced, from the commencement of its occupation by the Portuguese, an extravagant importation of negro slaves ; and it is only within ten years that this traffic in Brazil has yielded to the spirit of the age.

The number of negro slaves imported into Brazil from Africa between 1530 and 1850, a period of 320 years, we estimate as follows :

	Average per annum.	
From 1530 to 1600 . . .	5,000	300,000
From 1600 to 1700 . . .	15,000	1,500,000
From 1700 to 1800 . . .	20,000	2,000,000
From 1800 to 1820 . . .	30,000	600,000
From 1830 to 1840 . . .	85,000	850,000
From 1840 to 1850 . . .	50,000	500,000
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Total in 320 years . . .		5,750,000

The abolition of the slave trade by the civilized nations, had the effect to concentrate, in a great measure, the expiring struggles of this infernal traffic on the shores of Brazil. The capacities of the country to consume negroes, and its favorable location for the trade, caused it to be a popular rendezvous of the *contrabandistas*. The trade raged with great fury from 1830 to 1850, when the public mind became suddenly aroused from its torpid state on the subject, and the trade came suddenly to an end. In 1850, in accordance with the English treaty, the government of Brazil instituted measures to prevent the landing of slaves on its shores ; and so vigorously and successfully were those measures carried out, that in three years the slave trade was completely suppressed. For many years the importation of negro slaves into Brazil had averaged 50,000 per annum. In 1840, the number reached 100,000. In 1853, there was not a single disembarkation. In 1856, a slaver, cruising along the coast with a cargo of negroes, did not succeed in selling a single slave, though she touched at five different points.

The great and sudden change that has recently taken place in Brazil, relative not only to the slave trade but to the slave labor in the country, is very remarkable, and preëminently significant of the rapid decline and speedy downfall of commercial slavery on the American continent.

Says Mr. FLETCHER, in his interesting work, "*Brazil and the Brazilians*," "Slavery is doomed in Brazil."

It is easy to perceive that the institution has but a sickly existence in the public mind in Brazil, and that the better

quality and greater economy of free labor are rapidly gaining on slave labor in that vast empire.

We give an extract from the MEXICAN PAPERS, No. 4, page 164, which properly comes in here :

" By the Brazilian law, a slave can, at any time, appear before a magistrate, have his price fixed, and purchase his freedom. There is a system of colonization in progress, intended to supply the gradually diminishing quantity of slave labor, and the statesmen of the empire are said to be devoting much time and attention to discover the best means of promoting immigration. Germany, Portugal, the Azores and Madeira are constantly supplying laborers, attracted by the prospect which Brazil holds out to them, and there seems to be no doubt that the free African population will eventually fully suffice for these occupations in a tropical country for which the white race is necessarily unfitted.

" For more than three hundred years, the entire agricultural and manufacturing interests of Brazil, from north to south, from east to west, have been based on slave labor. The institution of slavery has entered more thoroughly into the industrial system of Brazil than it has into that of the United States. Natural causes favor the system of slave labor in Brazil more than they do in the United States, and though the number of slaves in the former country reaches 3,000,000, the institution of slavery is steadily and surely coming to an end in that empire."

The rapid decline of commercial slavery in Brazil, without abolition societies, abolition journals, or any of that peculiar abolition venom which infects the northern part of this country, is a subject worthy of profound reflection. Neither abolitionists nor slavery propagandists can find any comfort in Brazil. Nature and the laws of society are working out the problem of slavery in that country, in a manner not at all favorable to the peculiar ideas or interests of the extreme wing of either of the two great political parties in this country.

Left to herself, uncursed by an army of howling abolition fanatics, and knowing nothing of licentious liberty in politics, Brazil, that vast empire, which, perhaps, fills the blackest space in the great black page of American history, is rapidly emerging from the dark past, and apparently entering upon a grand and prosperous future.

The government of Brazil finds it extremely difficult to

obtain an accurate census of the population of the country, particularly of the aboriginal portion. This class in the interior are very suspicious that taking their number has something to do with taxation or enlistment for soldiers; and while they will assist in obtaining an account of the deaths that take place, they will fight before allowing a register of births to be kept, or anything, in fact, to indicate the names, numbers, and condition of the living.

The following is the government estimate of the population in Brazil, in 1856.

White population	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,000,000
Free mixed do.	}	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,121,000
Mulattoes, etc.		.	.	.	.	.	.
Civilized aboriginal do.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	800,000
Mixed slave do.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	600,000
African slave do.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2,600,000
								<hr/> 7,121,000

The population of Brazil has materially changed its relative proportions since 1856.

Mr. FLETCHER mentions as a striking fact "that emigrants did not begin to arrive from Europe by thousands until 1852. In 1850-51, the slave trade was annihilated, and in the succeeding year commenced the present comparatively vigorous colonization. Each year the number of colonists is increasing."

The free white population must have largely increased, while the slave population, diminished by the annihilation of the slave trade, emancipation, etc., in equal, if not greater proportion. The aggregate population of Brazil must be more than 9,000,000, and of this, the slave population can scarcely reach 3,000,000; and unless some unforeseen and unfortunate change takes place, this disproportion between the free and slave population of the country will continue and speedily extinguish the latter.

GUIANA.

BRITISH GUIANA.—Slavery abolished in 1834. See *British West Indies*, page 247.

Population, whites, 96,467; negroes, 14,251; creoles, 7,682.

FRENCH GUIANA.—Slavery abolished in French Guiana, 1848. See *French West Indies*, page 253.

Population, 17,625.

DUTCH GUIANA.—Slavery abolished by the Dutch in 1851, but as a compensation to the owners, the negroes were to work as apprentices till the year 1863.

Population: whites, 12,000; negroes, 40,000.

SLAVERY IN CANADA.

On commencing this publication, we addressed a communication to a friend in Canada, requesting him to give such information as he might be able to obtain respecting the original status and extent of the institution of slavery in Canada, and its abolition, for publication in our pages. These inquiries, it appears, have brought out a very interesting historical sketch of slavery as it existed in Canada, and its abolition, in the *Toronto Patriot*, which we publish as a valuable historical record pertinent to our subject. We also publish a private communication on the same subject.

R. HADFIELD, Esq., of Buffalo, and other gentlemen in Canada, to whom we are indebted for this information, will please accept our thanks.

The communications were received too late to have place in their regular geographical order.

From the Toronto Patriot.

“There are thousands of persons in Canada who would be insulted if told that there are points, connected with the history of this country, on which they are not well informed; and who are scarcely conscious that slavery ever existed in Canada. If they know the general fact, they probably conclude rather that the slavery was permissible in Canada than that it ever existed here. They would be astounded if told that slavery existed in Canada for more than a century; and yet such is the fact. The Montreal Historical Society, in two of its *livraisons*, has collected the principal documents which bear on *l'esclavage en Canada*.

"It was in the year of the English revolution, 1688, that the first steps were taken towards the introduction of slavery into Canada, Messieurs DE DENONVILLE, Governor, and DE CHAMPIGNY, Intendant of Canada, addressed the French Secretary of State on the desirability of introducing slavery into Canada. The scarcity and dearness of laborers and domestic servants were represented as so great as to ruin any one who undertook any enterprise. The best means of remedying this state of things was represented to be the introduction of negro slaves. Next year, 1689, the minister replied that His Majesty thought it would be well for the inhabitants of Canada to introduce negroes to cultivate the soil ; at the same time a fear was expressed that if negroes were brought from a climate so different they would perish, and the project would thus be found to be useless. Under the *Coutume de Paris*, negroes had been treated as chattels in the French West India islands; and it was decided, in 1705, that they were to be regarded in the same light in Canada. The non-slaveholding portion of the population, even at this early day, used to instill abolition ideas into the minds of the slaves; and frequently enticed them to leave their masters. On the 13th April, 1709, an ordinance, directed against this practice, was passed. This ordinance declared it to be the good pleasure of His Majesty that 'all Panis and Negroes who had been purchased, and who might in future be purchased, should be the property of those by whom they were purchased, as being their slaves.' Panis*—savages, we are told, thus named, whose nation is far from Canada—and negroes were forbidden to leave their masters, and whoever 'debauched' them with ideas of liberty were made liable to a fine of fifty livres. Individual holders of slaves occasionally granted them their liberty; and on the 1st Sept., 1736, an ordinance was passed laying down a form to be followed in such cases. In 1748, an *arrêt* of the Council of the King was passed at Quebec, declaring the exclusive property of His Majesty all slaves who escape from British to French territory. In 1686, a treaty had been concluded at London, between England and France, in which, among other things, it was stipulated that the subjects of each country, in America, should not entice away the slaves belonging to the subjects of the other. This was three or four years before slaves were introduced into Canada ; but they existed in the French West Indies and the British colonies on the main land. In the capitulation of Montreal, 1760, it was provided 'that the negroes and Panis of both sexes should remain in their quality of slaves, in possession of the French and Canadians to whom they belonged;' and their owners were to be 'free to keep them in their service in the colony or to sell them.' They might also continue to bring them up in the Roman Catholic religion.

"Wherever slavery exists there will be desertions ; and even in these early times, persons were willing to facilitate such escapes. In 1732, a French captain, Le Sieur JOANNE, brought to Canada a slave whom he had engaged as a sailor ; and while the vessel was there the slave escaped. He was found after a while in the parish of St. Augustin, where he was demanded ; but we are

* Panis is the generic name for all Indians or half-breed Indian slaves—not for any distinct tribe or nation.

told in an ordinance of Intendant Hocquart, February 8, 1734, 'that some evil disposed persons facilitated the escape of the said slave.' The captain applied to the government, who issued an order for the arrest of the fugitive, wherever he might be ; all militia officers were ordered to assist in the arrest, and an arbitrary fine was denounced against whoever should facilitate his escape or conceal him. The spirit of revenge sometimes fired the breasts of Canadian slaves. A negress, the slave of Madame FRANCHEVILLE, who had been purchased in one of the neighboring English colonies, set fire to her mistress' house, on the 11th of April, 1734 ; by which a part of the town of Montreal was burnt, and for which the slave was hanged.

" At least one Canadian newspaper, which still exists, used to contain advertisements of slaves for sale ; very similar to advertisements which may now be any day read in the journals of the Southern States. The *Quebec Gazette*, of March 18, 1784, contained, among its advertisements, this notice : 'For sale. A negress, now in town. For price, address Madame PERRAULT.' And in the number of March 25, of the same year : 'For sale. A negro about twenty-five years of age, who has had the smallpox ;' and who was, therefore, in future, safe from that disease. 'For full particulars inquire of the printer.' Negroes taken in battle, after the conquest of Canada, were not treated as prisoners of war, but were taken to Montreal and sold. There is a deposition to this effect, dated July 16, 1788.

" As the French law had given a monopoly of the slave trade in the French colonies to French vessels, an act of the British Parliament was passed in 1790, by which it was provided that 'subjects of the United States' might remove to Canada, and import their negroes with them in British vessels.

" One of the first uses that Upper Canada made of the legislative powers conferred on it in 1791, was to put an end to the importation of slaves ; to provide that all the children of slaves thereafter born in the province should be entitled to their freedom at the age of twenty-five years, and that no person should be bound to service for a longer term than nine years. The slaves then in the province were not liberated, but continued in their servile condition to the end of their lives. This was in 1793, two years after the passing of the Constitution Act. At one stroke the slave-trade was arrested, so far as Upper Canada was concerned, and slavery gradually abolished, without compensation to the masters, who must have been very few in number. Long after it was the boast of England that a slave became free as soon as he set foot on English soil, slavery continued in some of the colonies ; and even a slave who obtained his freedom by being taken to England, suffered a reintegration of his servile condition if taken to one of the slave colonies of the empire. This reproach did not attach to Upper Canada. It was not till 1807 that the Imperial Parliament abolished the slave-trade, so far as it had power to do so ; for the prohibition could of course only extend to British subjects.

" Upper Canada prohibited the importation of slaves long before any nation had abandoned the slave-trade. In 1793, a bill was introduced into the Legislature of Lower Canada, 'tending to the abolition of slavery ;' but the result was that it was 'laid on the table.' In 1798, a negress called CHARLOTTE,

belonging to Miss JANE COOK, deserted ; and being brought before a magistrate, was committed to prison ; but she was set at liberty, on a writ of *habeas corpus*, by the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. Another negress, being imprisoned for the same cause, was set at liberty by the Chief Justice. The peculiarity, in this case, seemed to be that she had been purchased in Albany by a person living in Montreal, named ELIAS SMITH, instead of being brought in as part of settlers' effects. Montreal rose against these decisions ; and petitioned the Legislature to pass a fugitive slave law, or in default of that, to follow out its inclination, and abolish slavery in the Province. As late as the year 1800, 'divers inhabitants of the district of Montreal' petitioned the Legislature 'to pass an act, declaring that slavery exists under certain conditions, in this Province, and investing perfectly in the masters the property of their negroes ; and moreover, that the House pass such laws and regulations for the government of slaves as in its wisdom it shall see fit.' On motion of M. PAPINEAU, the elder, this petition was referred to a committee of five, who reported that, in their opinion, there 'existed reasonable grounds for passing a law to regulate the condition of slaves, to limit the term of slavery, and to prevent the introduction of slaves into the Province.' Mr. CUTHBERT, a member of the committee, accordingly introduced such a bill. In 1800 and in 1801, this bill was before the House ; but we hear nothing of it after it got into committee of the whole. In 1803, the same member introduced a bill 'to remove all doubt concerning slavery in this Province, and for other purposes ;' but it was sent to a special committee, and we hear no more of it. Several suits were brought in the courts of Lower Canada, arising out of questions of property in slaves. Slavery was legal in Lower Canada till abolished by the Imperial Act, in 1834."

"TORONTO, 15th March, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR :

"In reply to your questions relating to slavery in Canada, I beg to say that up to July, 1793, slavery existed in Upper Canada in the same way as in other British colonies. but not to any very great extent. In that year an act was passed by the Provincial Legislature, prohibiting the further introduction of slaves, and providing that every child born of slave parents after the passing of the act should be maintained by the owner of the parents till the child attained the age of 25 years, and that it was then entitled to freedom. And the birth of all children born of slave parents after that date, was required to be registered by the owner under a penalty in case of neglect. Persons are now living in Toronto who held slaves when the above act was passed. Several wills have passed through my hand, in examining

titles, by which slaves are manumitted. The law on the subject in Canada at present is the same as the law of England.

“Yours sincerely.”

This completes the history of the decline of commercial slavery in the Spanish, Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch possessions on the American continent.

DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN THE WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

BRITISH WEST INDIES.

In 1833, it was enacted in the British Parliament that slavery should cease in all the British colonies on and after August 1st, 1834.

The following is a table of the slave colonies, with the number of slaves registered as belonging to each :

	Number of slaves.
Bermuda	4,905
Bahamas	9,705
Jamaica	311,692
Honduras	1,920
Virgin Isles	5,192
Antigua	29,537
Montserrat	6,355
Nevis	8,722
St. Christopher	20,660
Dominica	14,384
Barbadoes	82,807
Grenada	23,536
St. Vincent	22,997
Tobago	11,621
St. Lucia	13,348
Trinidad	22,359
British Guiana, on the mainland	84,915
Cape of Good Hope (Africa)	38,427
Mauritius	68,615
	<hr/>
	781,697

In the bill of emancipation, it was provided that the slaves should labor as apprentices till 1840, when they were to be

set at liberty. But a cry was raised against the duration of the apprenticeship, and the term was reduced to 1838, when the blacks became universally free.

The government appropriated £20,000,000, which gave an average of about \$127 for each slave, as a remuneration to the owners.

This action on the part of the British government in abolishing negro slavery in her colonies, by which 781,697 negro slaves were liberated, is one of the most prominent events that mark the decline of commercial slavery in America. For nearly fifty years, fanatics and humanitarians had agitated the subject on the score of humanity, and for the same period, political economists had done the same thing on the score of economy.

English statesmen succeeded in figuring it out at last to their satisfaction, that it would be better for English interests, and worse for the interests of other countries, more particularly the United States, if the English colonies changed their system of slave labor to that of free labor. And so the deed was done under the auspices of humanity and philanthropy; but the measures of the English government were imperfect and hasty; hence, the immediate result was serious ill to the blacks themselves, and very great damage to the material interests of the colonies and of England. The industrial and social status of masses of negro slaves cannot be suddenly changed without injury to all concerned. They must pass through the transition state.

A decided change for the better, it is said, has recently commenced in the British West India islands, especially Jamaica.

Pending the writing of the foregoing, the following came to our notice :

SLAVERY—COOLIE LABOR.

From the London Times, March 1.

The public sentiment upon the subject of slavery and the slave trade seems at last to have entered upon its rational, and, as we may hope, its permanent state. A hundred and fifty years ago, we were fighting for the privilege of conveying negroes over sea. Having obtained all we desired on that score, we then apathetically

pocketed the profits, and positively refused to think of how those profits were obtained. A generation later, and we grew uncomfortable in our gains, and our ears tingled and our consciences grew uneasy as the wails and groans of the stifled negroes came home to us with perpetual and importunate repetition. We were some years awakening, and Wilberforce and Clarkson, and all the fellow-laborers of these men, had much to do thoroughly to arouse us out of that uneasy state of somnolence. But at last we did awake, and we awoke in a frenzy. The state of this country, when the full guilt of slavery came upon it, was nothing less than a frenzy of remorse. Before that passion everything went down. Many men yet living can remember when George Canning failed to obtain, as a concession, the abolition of the power to flog female slaves, and young men can remember when it was thought little less than blasphemy to suggest that even a black man might very reasonably be expected to do some labor. Between these two extremes the public sentiment has violently vibrated. In the paroxysm of the first remorse, the guilty Englishman saw slavery in everything black. The phantom of that complaining negro was ever before him, and he would shut his eyes and scream if you did but talk to him of a negro at work. He sacrificed everything to his sore, quivering conscience. He was ever upon the watch to find out something more to sacrifice. He sacrificed his great West Indian interest not only recklessly, but with an ostentatious eagerness. He cast his own twenty millions down to rid himself of the remaining evidences of his crime as penitently as Judas offered the thirty pieces of silver to the Jewish authorities. He poured forth not only his own money and the money of those over whom he held influence, but he lavished the life of his own kith and kin to appease that accusing conscience. On the coast of Africa, in the perfidious sunshine of 'the white man's grave,' amid the beautiful and deadly luxuriance of a tropical vegetation, he placed his own countrymen to pine and die that he might comfort himself with the satisfaction that he had atoned for the great sin he had committed against the black man. For a full generation there was nothing he would not pay, and nothing he would not vicariously endure.

"Every great excitement has its recoil. The generation of crime has been followed by the generation of remorse; the generation of remorse is followed by the generation of reflection. We who now occupy the earth are less affected by the crimes of grandfathers or the remorse of our fathers. We begin to feel less affright at this spectre of the writhing negro. We have purged ourselves completely of the guilt of his abduction and his other wrongs, and we can feel ourselves entitled to look upon any other man who has succeeded to the common obligation of eating bread by the sweat of his brow. The flood tide, which had flowed upward, roaring and foaming like the 'bore' of some bell-shaped firth, retained its power of flowing after the great impulse had ceased; but years ago there were some who ventured to say that, after all, the earth must be tilled, and that the great law of nature which doomed man to labor must apply to the black man as well as to the white. Their voices, however, had little chance of being heard, for there was enough of vehemence in our old convictions to urge us not only to persuade but to coerce all the rest of the world to feel as we felt and to be penitent as

we were penitent. We lavished our money, we concentrated our efforts, we exerted all our influence, we compromised our political relations, we coerced the weak, and we went to the verge of making war upon the strong, in order to bring the rest of the world to join with us in our crusade against the traffic in mankind. *Never was there in the history of our race so magnificent and so disinterested an enthusiasm.* When the great book of history shall become so vast that far-off generations shall be unable to seize any other than the tallest events in the great vista from which they emerge, this work of England must stand out and challenge admiration, as something to which the story of past ages has no parallel. We English alone have been hearty in the cause. We have shamed some by our example, we have bought others by our largesses, and we have deterred others by our power; but of all the peoples of the earth, we alone have labored, with gold and with arms, for no other object than for that point of conscience which is to us our 'idea'—to put down slavery and the slave trade. Yet we have not succeeded. While we have been starving our own colonists, and suffering our West Indian possessions to return to jungle in very fanaticism, suspecting that slavery must lurk under every contract for labor, other countries have eluded their engagements, or have openly resented our interference. Portugal has required all our attention to keep her at all up to the mark; Spain has impudently repudiated all her promises; France has changed the name, but not the substance; and America has continued the odious traffic at sea under the pretext of a jealousy of her national honor, and has, to her misfortune, nursed slavery at home and acknowledged it as a domestic institution. After all our sacrifices and all our efforts, the most zealous opponents of slavery were fain to come down to the House of Commons on Tuesday night, and to propose a resolution, 'That the means hitherto employed by this country for the suppression of the African slave trade have failed to accomplish that object.'

"Now that we can calmly review all that has been done, we find that we have been led away by our generous impulses and have wasted our strength uselessly. Like the charge at Balaklava, '*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre,*' it was wonderful, but it was altogether unpracticable. *Great as we are, we are not powerful enough to coerce the world. Strong as we are, we must submit to the laws which universally influence human conduct. After all our vain efforts we are reduced at last to admit that we must be content to attract mankind by their interests, and not pretend to govern them by fear.* France claps her hand upon her sword if we presume to ask whether she has slaves or free laborers in the hold of the Charles-et-Georges. Spain laughs at us if we pretend to prevent her from importing as many slaves as she may want in Cuba. America threatens war if we attempt to liberate the live cargo of a vessel covered with the stars and stripes. *We have discovered at last that commercial competition will do what fleets and armies are utterly incompetent to perform.* Not very long ago, when we, from time to time, urged the claims of our West Indian colonies to some substituted free labor for the slave labor they had lost, we were met by the indignation of our anti-slavery societies. Perhaps there are some remnants

of that superstition, which is a great religion degenerated, wherein the same dogmas are still repeated ; but on Tuesday night the modern anti-slavery men came down to ask the House of Commons to believe that ' the true remedy is to be found, not in countenancing immigration into countries where slavery exists, but in augmenting the working population in countries in which slavery has been abolished ;' and ' that the failure has mainly arisen from our having endeavored almost exclusively to prevent the supply of slaves instead of to check the demand for them.' *At last we are condescending to reason upon slavery and the slave trade as we reason upon other human affairs. At last we are coming down from our high notions of destroying anything we do not like by the sword and the cannon-shot—although there are some fanatics, as the debate showed, who still lean upon these means—and are intent upon humbling ourselves to the commonplace notion that the best way of destroying an objectionable system of labor is to undersell it.* Africa, populous as it is, is not so populous as China, nor is it so populous as the coast of India. Africa, necessitous as the people may be, is not so necessitous as the Far East. There we have a hungry civilization which may be molded to our purposes by good treatment more cheaply than the savagery of Africa can be oppressed by coercion. Both in India and in China we have the materials for a competition which may render the slave trade an extinct, because an unprofitable, traffic. The old anti-slavery party will probably for some time still oppose all white emigration, unless it should compel their free black protégés to work by the competition that emigration must create in the labor market; but we are happily getting beyond this stage of folly, and are learning to look upon this subject with the eyes of common sense. *We have a treaty with China which enables us to carry to the West not only Chinamen but their families. We have behaved so well to them that we have gained their confidence. While other nations may kidnap them by tens, we can obtain volunteers by thousands ; and if our laws are observed, and our shipowners and planters are honest, we are not far from the period when we may see the prosperity of our West India colonies restored, and the slave trade extinguished without a cruiser or a fort on the coast of Africa, and without the sacrifice of even another million from the British treasury."*

There are some remarkable points in the preceding article from the *London Times*. Its confession and self-abasement for the national sin of slavery, is perfectly just and proper. There are several other confessions and acknowledgments particularly pertinent to our facts and line of argument. For example : " Great as we are, we are not powerful enough to coerce the world. Strong as we are, we must submit to the laws which universally influence human conduct." The true interpretation of this, we believe, is : Almighty as we consider ourselves, we have made a slight mistake in our aboli-

tion policy, and now we had better be regulated by the laws of God.

We accord with the entire article, except in that high-wrought picture of national frenzy arising from remorse for the sins of a past generation, and the attempt to clothe the present with a very gaudy robe of self-righteousness. We consider all that a very pretty piece of romance, thrown in by the romantic writer to relieve the dark picture.

But impartial, matter-of-fact history must exhibit the policy of England in abolishing slavery and the slave trade, as a mixture of one-third fanaticism, and two-thirds pure selfishness. When the English abolished slavery, does any one believe they ever dreamed that the act would starve the colonists and cause their "West India possession to return to jungle?" to use the expression of the "London Times." No; the English thought their own fair possessions would bloom and prosper with free negroes, while those of *others*, remaining under slavery, would return to jungle. In all this matter, the fanatics worked upon the disposition of English statesmen to leave no means untried to prevent the extension of American interest and influence. From 1783, to within ten years, this feeling of jealousy on the part of England has ever been prominent in English councils. The idea that in abolishing the slave trade and liberating the negro slaves in her West India colonies, American interests would receive a heavy blow, was the deepest and strongest motive England had for so doing. It was but the reflex of the idea entertained by the French Jacobin convention of 1794, of the effect the liberation of the negro slaves in the French West India colonies, would have on England.

We are surprised that in this enlightened age, any sound writer should so *naively* assert that any generation of Englishmen was ever aroused to a *frenzy of remorse for the crimes of the previous generation*. The toughness of national consciences is too well understood in these days, to admit of any such millennial idea. While we fully appreciate the several noble qualities found in the English character,

we are among those who doubt whether the phantom of a negro ever troubled the digestion or the slumbers of Englishmen, individually or collectively.

FRENCH WEST INDIES.

"Lançons la liberté dans les colonies ; c'est aujourd'hui que l'anglais est mort !" thundered forth DANTON in the French convention of 1794. The Jacobin agitation of the idea of thrusting liberty into the blacks of the French colonies, in 1794—equivalent to the abolitionism of our day—caused the blacks in the French island of St. Domingo to thrust the knife into the whites, their masters. At that period there were more negro slaves in the French than in the English colonies, and such were the peculiar relations then existing between France and England, and their relative positions, that the Jacobin idea of giving immediate freedom to negro slaves in the French colonies, was based mainly on the opinion that the *éclat* of the act, the stronger hold it would give France upon her colonies, and the uprising it would cause among the negro slaves in the British colonies, was destined to prove the final blow under which the power of England would succumb to that of France. This policy of the Jacobins was murderous rather than humane, and in the terrible St. Domingo massacre, they were speedily paid back in coin upon which they did not count.

The French convention of 1794 proclaimed the liberty of the blacks in the French colonies, but as soon as NAPOLEON came into power, he annulled this proclamation and caused the blacks to be retained as slaves.

We have already narrated how France abolished the slave trade in 1819.

In 1840 the subject of emancipation in the French colonies was again vigorously agitated. At this time, France had lost her most valuable West India possession, St. Domingo, with other smaller islands ; and the negro slaves in her colonies were reduced from nearly 1,000,000 to 250,000. In 1840, the French government (LOUIS PHILIPPE) appointed a commis-

sion to inquire into the expediency of abolishing slavery in the colonies, and in 1843, this commission, at the head of which was the Duc de BROGLIE, brought forth a report of immense volume. It covered 3,450 pages, and contained a vast array of information on the expediency of emancipation.

Here the matter rested until March 4th, 1848, when the Provisional Government of the French Republic decreed, that a commission should be instituted by the Provisionary Ministry of Marine, to prepare, in the shortest time possible, an act of immediate emancipation in all the colonies of the republic.

On the 27th April, 1848, the Provisional Government promulgated the decree of emancipation. It commenced with the following preamble :

“ Considering that slavery is a crime against humanity ; that in destroying the free will of man, the natural principle of right and justice is suppressed ; that it is a flagrant violation of the republican dogma of liberty, equality, and fraternity.”

The decree then says :

“ Art. 1. Slavery shall be abolished in all the colonies of French possessions, two months after the promulgation of this decree in each of them.

“ The apprenticeship system in Senegal is abolished.

“ The buying and selling of slaves is positively and absolutely interdicted.

“ Art. 5. The National Assembly shall regulate the quota of indemnity due to each of the colonies.

“ Art. 6. Colonies purified of slavery shall be represented in the National Assembly.”

The National Assembly promulgated the law of indemnity January, 1849.

According to this law, the sum of 6,000,000 francs was decreed to be paid to the colonies pro ratâ, in money, thirty days after its promulgation. Also, the sum of 6,000,000 francs in stock, bearing five per cent. interest, to be divided among the colonies pro ratâ.

The amount of 12,000,000, half cash, and half five per cent. stock, was allotted to the colonies in the following proportions, according to the number of slaves liberated in each, under the decree :

	Francs.	Negroes liberated.*
Martinique	3,015,771.60	60,255
Guadeloupe and dependencies	3,894,329.70	77,886
Guiana (on the main)	745,143.76	14,902
La Réunion (Isle of Bourbon)	4,110,400.50	82,208
Senegal and dependencies (Africa) . .	211,007.32	4,220
Nossebé and St. Marie (Africa) . . .	23,347.12	466
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	12,000,000.00	239,937

Thus 239,937 negro slaves were liberated, and slavery was abolished in all the French colonies.

DANISH ISLANDS.

CHRISTIAN VIII., King of Denmark, in the year 1847, enacted certain laws for the complete emancipation of all the slaves in the Danish islands of St. Thomas, Santa Cruz, and St. Johns.

From the 28th of July of that year, it was ordered that all children born of those held in bondage should be free; and also that at the end of twelve years, slavery should entirely cease.

The next year, 1848, the slaves in Santa Cruz broke out in insurrection, under the pressure of which the Governor-General issued a proclamation, in which slavery was immediately abolished, and the negroes declared free.

SWEDISH ISLAND.

Emancipation was proclaimed on the small island of St. Bartholomew, October 9th, 1847.

* We have not been able to obtain the exact number of slaves liberated by the French decree of emancipation. This table is based on the fact that 500 francs or one hundred dollars was the amount allowed for each slave liberated. The figures must be very nearly accurate.

HAYTI, OR ST. DOMINGO.

The French part of St. Domingo proclaimed its independence in 1800, and in 1803 the French were expelled, and it is now a republic of free negroes.

The Spanish part of the island is also a republic, with president, legislature, assembly and council. Slavery is extinct.

SPANISH ISLANDS—CUBA.

The island of Cuba is the only place on earth where the commercial slave-trade exists. Tolerated by the authorities of the island, winked at by the government of Spain, the trade flourishes, half clandestinely, though not to so great an extent as in former years.

The number of Africans landed in Cuba yearly cannot be stated with accuracy, but it is said to be between six and ten thousand. The Spanish government has recently made known its intention to station a fleet on the African coast, and use its best endeavors to suppress the trade. Whether Spain is sincere in these expressed intentions, remains to be seen.

The importation of coolies from China, to labor as apprentices, has been resorted to recently in Cuba, and it is said with satisfactory results. The apprenticeship system is denounced in certain quarters, as no better than slavery. We do not consider the discussion of this point pertinent to our subject.

The sudden failure of industry in the British West India colonies, by reason of abolition, created at once an enlarged demand for slave labor in Cuba, principally to cultivate the sugar-cane. The effect in Louisiana was the same; hence, the strong hold slavery now has in one or more localities, can be traced directly, in part, to the hasty and injudicious manner in which England abolished slavery in her colonies.

The population of Cuba was, in

	Whites.	Free Blacks.	Slaves.	Total.
1775....				170,370
1817....				551,998
1854....	501,988	176,647	330,425	.... 1,009,060

Except in the importation of coolies, the increase of free blacks and the expressed intention of the Spanish government to suppress the slave-trade, there are no indications of a weakening of the system of slave labor in the island of Cuba. But we may have evidence of a change in this respect at an early day.

PORTO RICO.

The island of Porto Rico is owned by Spain, and governed by a Captain-General. It is 100 miles long by 35 to 40 wide. The staple product of the island is sugar. Tobacco is raised in small quantities; also cotton of the best quality. The exports are \$8,000,000 per annum.

The facts relating to slavery on this island are interesting.

The slave-trade was abolished by Spain in 1822, and the contraband trade with this island has ceased. No slaves have been landed on the island for some years. In 1859 an attempt was made to land a cargo of negroes, but, through the watchfulness and activity of the authorities, the parties were detected and arrested; and they are now suffering the penalty.

According to the law, a slave in Porto Rico can go before a judge, appointed for the purpose, obtain his appraisement, and purchase his freedom at the rate thus fixed.

Four years ago, PEZUELA, the Captain-General, started the project of freeing *one* slave per annum from a certain fund of the church. This was done with the idea that it would form the basis of a plan of general emancipation. This shows the *animus*.

The comfort and safety of the slaves are guarded by law. They can complain of maltreatment, on the part of their

masters, to a special judge, and, on conviction, the master is fined or imprisoned.

The entire population of the island is estimated at 500,000. Of this number ten per cent., or 50,000 are slaves, and 125,000 are free blacks.

The free blacks are, as a class, orderly, and to a certain extent, industrious. Some of the sugar haciendas are worked entirely with free blacks; others by slaves and free blacks together, and the balance by slaves entirely.

The number of slaves is gradually diminishing. The planters generally have come to the conclusion that slave labor is dearer than free labor, and, under this belief, the laws and public opinion are favoring the emancipation of the blacks.

DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

In speaking of the decline of commercial slavery in what have been known as the United States, we use the comparative term. In the more rapid increase of free territory, the greater increase of free population and the products of free labor, we recognize the inevitable law of progress before which the institution of slavery is surely and rapidly declining, and will soon disappear.

When the Federal Constitution was framed and adopted in 1787, the following relative proportion of free and slave territory existed in the original States :

	Square Miles.
FREE: Massachusetts, including the territory of Maine, .	42,800
SLAVE: Twelve States,	326,691

The gain of slave territory upon this basis has been as follows :

States.	Admitted into the Union.	Square Miles.
Kentucky,	1792	37,680
Tennessee,	1796	44,000
Louisiana,	1811	41,346
Mississippi,	1817	47,151
Missouri,	1821	65,037
Alabama,	1820	50,722
Arkansas,	1836	52,198
Florida,	1836	59,268
Texas,	1845	274,000
		<hr/>
		671,402
Indian Territory,		71,127
		<hr/>
Total gain slave territory,		742,529

The gain of free territory, upon the same basis, has been as follows :

States.	Admitted into the Union.	Square Miles.
New Hampshire,		8,030
Connecticut,		4,750
Rhode Island,		1,200
Vermont,	1790	8,000
New Jersey,		6,851
New York,		46,000
Pennsylvania,		47,000
Ohio,	1802	39,964
Indiana,	1816	33,809
Illinois,	1818	55,409
Michigan,	1836	56,243
Iowa,	1846	50,914
Wisconsin,	1848	53,924
California,	1850	160,000
Minnesota,	1858	86,000
Oregon,	1858	185,000
Kansas,	1861	125,283
Territories.		
Nebraska,		335,882
Dakotah,		60,000
Utah,		269,170
Washington,		123,022
New Mexico,		256,309
Arizona,		80,000
		<hr/>
		2,092,560

RECAPITULATION.

	Square Miles.
Original free territory,	42,800
Gain,	2,092,560
	<hr/>
Total free territory, 1860,	2,135,360
Original slave territory,	326,691
Gain,	671,402
	<hr/>
	998,093
Deduct loss from original slave territory, six States, 123,081	<hr/>
Total slave territory, 1860,	875,012
Free territory,	2,135,360
Slave territory,	875,012
	<hr/>
Total gain free territory,	1,260,348

Thus we find the gain of free over slave territory, since the formation of the Federal compact, is 1,260,348 square miles.

During this period, the free States have increased from one to nineteen, while the slave States have lost six and gained nine, making a net gain of only three, which, added to the original twelve, makes fifteen slave States against nineteen free States; leaving nearly a million of square miles of free territory out of which to make free States.

The census of 1860 gives 27,649,535 free population, and 3,999,353 slaves, which is one slave to seven free, a gain of free population over slave population, since 1790, of more than sixty per cent. The increase of slave population during the last decade has been but little over twenty per cent., the lowest rate of increase since the formation of the government.

The following is a statement showing the absolute free and slave populations in the slave States at the last three enumerations :

States.	Free Population.			Slave Population.		
	1840.	1850.	1860.	1840.	1850.	1860.
Delaware.....	75,480	89,242	110,548	2,605	2,290	1,805
Maryland.....	380,282	492,666	646,583	89,737	90,386	85,382
Virginia.....	790,710	949,133	1,097,373	449,087	472,528	495,826
N. Carolina....	507,601	580,491	679,965	245,817	288,548	328,377
S. Carolina.....	267,360	283,523	308,186	327,038	384,984	407,185
Georgia.....	410,448	524,503	615,336	280,944	381,682	467,461
Florida.....	28,760	48,135	81,885	25,717	39,310	63,809
Alabama.....	337,224	428,779	520,444	253,352	342,844	435,473
Mississippi....	180,440	296,648	407,551	195,211	309,878	479,607
Louisiana.....	183,959	272,953	354,245	168,452	244,809	312,186
Texas.....	.....	154,431	415,999	.....	58,167	184,956
Arkansas.....	77,639	163,797	331,710	19,935	47,100	109,065
Missouri.....	32,462	594,622	1,085,590	58,240	87,422	115,619
Kentucky.....	597,520	771,424	920,077	182,258	210,981	225,490
Tennessee.....	646,151	763,258	859,528	183,059	239,459	287,112
Total.....	4,809,097	6,412,605	8,435,020	2,481,622	3,200,364	3,999,353

In 1790, the products of the country were almost entirely the result of slave labor, and the exports were principally from the Southern States, and these did not reach \$5,000,000 per annum.

In 1850, the annual value of manufactures in the free States was \$842,586,058, and the annual value of manufactures in the slave States was \$165,413,027.

In 1855, the commercial exchanges of the United States (imports and exports) were \$536,435,719, of which \$404,368,503 belonged to the free States, and \$132,067,216 to the slave States.

We find these facts in a book known as "*Helper's Impending Crisis*," got up and used to frighten the people of the North into the belief that it was necessary for the Abolition party to obtain the control of the Federal Government, and make war upon the South, in order to arrest the progress of the institution of slavery. We believe no one will deny the important part this book has played in sustaining the "irrepressible conflict," and stimulating sectional strife.

Now we take this book (granting that its statistics are

correct) as the strongest possible evidence that slavery has been declining since the Federal Union was formed—that the institution is doomed to disappear in the regular order of nature at no very distant day. We use this book to prove precisely what the Republican demagogues, in their mangling of the subject, have attempted to disprove. According to the statistics of Helper's book, the free States have been gaining on the slave States from the outset, in territory, population, manufactures, products, arts, sciences—everything that constitutes national greatness; and all this, according to its own account, under the statesmen and statesmanship of that same South which it so violently and so atrociously abuses.

From 1828 to 1833, a disposition was manifested in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky, to adopt measures for the abolition of slavery within their limits. But most unfortunately, a species of rabid fanaticism, known in these days as *abolition*, made its appearance in our midst, and by its unreasonable demands, its bitter invective, sweeping denunciation, and unnatural, unconstitutional tendencies, raised such a general and determined opposition on the part of the South, that all hope of any immediate movement tending to emancipation in any of the slave States was speedily extinguished. In this abolition movement we see the beginning of that *treason* which has dissevered the Confederacy.

It can be said, however, that slavery in the State of Delaware has steadily declined, and is now nearly extinct. In 1790, this State had 8,887 slaves. In 1850, but 2290; and the census of 1860 gives only 1,805.

Slavery in Maryland is also gradually becoming extinct. In 1790, the slave population numbered 103,036. The census of 1860 gives 85,382 slaves, to 646,583 whites.

Western Virginia—the mountainous region is gradually ridding itself of the negro, and manifesting decided free soil proclivities. When the State of Virginia—the proud Old Dominion—the mother of Presidents, wakes up to the fact that something more honorable and profitable awaits her

than a decaying existence as the mother of negroes—the *Africa* of the slave States—she will shake off the incubus, and stand forth in all the glory to which she is entitled from ancient and noble associations.

In Missouri, slavery is also on the decline. The proportion of slaves to the whites is less in this State than that of any other State except Delaware.

The city of St. Louis, the empire city of the West, is already a free city.

In Texas, slavery has but a feeble existence, except in what is called Eastern Texas, constituting scarcely one-quarter of the State. Texas looks large, very large, on the map, but of the 274,000 square miles it contains, at least 100,000, or more than one-third, is a desert, where neither white nor blacks can live. The entire country west of the 100th meridian, is a dreary waste (except immediately on the Rio Grande), that never will be settled.

South of the River Colorado, and east of the 100th meridian, constituting what is known as Western Texas, would be free to-day if separated from Eastern Texas. The fear that this extensive region would be eventually converted into slave states, which convulsed the North when Texas was admitted into the Union, will never be realized.

IN VIEW OF THESE GREAT AND IMPORTANT FACTS, IT BECAME apparent, that the Almighty was working out the abolition of slavery in his own good time and manner, and somewhat too rapidly for the special designs of certain abolition fanatics and selfish politicians, whose life-long struggle for spoils and power was likely to end in grief, if political success should not be speedily attained. It became necessary, therefore, to forestall the Almighty. To this end, a political convention was held in the city of Pittsburg, August, 1856, to organize a party whose object should be to act on the *defensive* against the South, to *resist* the *aggressions*, the *extension* of slavery, to *prevent* the slaveholding interest from obtaining *permanent control of the Federal Government* !

This convention gave birth to the *republican party*—a party which a CLAY, a WEBSTER, or other statesmen of past days, and whom it was necessary to kill off before such a party could be created—would have scorned.

There is no denying the fact, that the republican party of 1856, comprehends the free soil party of 1848, and the liberty party of 1844, all having their common foundation far back in original abolitionism, under the auspices of which, what may be termed *venom distilleries* were established, in the shape of abolition societies, abolition journals, abolition tracts, abolition lectures, abolition sermons, etc., and which for more than thirty years, distilled their poison into the public mind in one unceasing drip.

On the 25th of October, 1858, the acknowledged creator and leader of the republican party, WM. H. SEWARD, stood up before the people of the North, and declared the principles and purposes of the party, as follows :

“ It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina, and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture, and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more the markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men.”

Based upon such infidel notions as these—such an utter want of faith in the overruling power of divine Providence and the progress of humanity—abolition, under the name of republicanism, drew a large body of the most respectable and well-meaning people of the North, into the belief that the freedom of their own soil, and the salvation of the Federal Government, depended on the success of the republican party in 1860. Upon this unnatural, false issue, abolition—*livid abolition*—achieved success, and is now enthroned in Washington.

It was these views, and the fear of abolition success, that caused us to remark, in *MEXICAN PAPERS*, No. 3, Sept. 15, 1860, page 128, as follows :

“ The ‘irrepressible conflict’ leaders dread these developments (the decline of slavery) more than all else. Mr. SEWARD feels that they are already beginning to have their influence, and he is exerting himself to destroy the effect and keep up the sectional flame until after the election in November next. We detect this in every speech he makes on his western tour. Mr. SEWARD has clothed himself with an idea—the assumption that he is something like a Divine Essence—the spirit of progressive freedom on this continent, and many good people bow down to him as such.

“ You who take the opposite ground, and whose business it is, give the people light on this subject. *THE PEOPLE NEED LIGHT!* They are ready to receive it. Every ray shed does some good, even at this late moment. Follow the demagogues and fanatics, and puncture the wickedest political humbug that ever cast its dark and threatening shadow over a great and prosperous nation.”

That dark and threatening shadow has become a reality. The reputed author of the idea of the “irrepressible conflict” is President of the United States, and the elaborator of that idea is his premier, but—*where is our country?*

GENERAL RECAPITULATION.

In the foregoing history of Commercial Slavery in America, the principal endeavor has been to set forth three points, namely :

First. The rise of Commercial Slavery in America.

Second. The culminating Period of Commercial Slavery in America.

Third. The decline of Commercial Slavery in America.

In elucidating the first mentioned point, the following facts are narrated :

First. The commencement of the era of Commercial Slavery, by the discovery of the west coast of Africa by the Portuguese in 1481.

Second. This discovery of the New World by COLUMBUS in 1492.

Third. The destruction of the natives of the **West India** islands, estimated at 4,000,000, by the Spaniards, by which a demand for negro slaves was created.

Fourth. The first importation of negro slaves into **Hispaniola** by the Spanish in 1501.

Fifth. The discovery and occupation of the **American Continent** by the commercial nations of Europe—the Spaniards, Portuguese, English, French, Dutch, Swedes, Danes, etc.

Sixth. The enslaving of the aborigines on the continent by the Spaniards and Portuguese.

Seventh. The rapid extension of the slave-trade and slavery throughout the settled portion of the **American continent**.

Eighth. The commercial nations of Europe enter upon the slave-trade and supply their **American colonies**, giving it a moral support based on the ancient superstitious notion that in capturing the heathen and enslaving them, they were saving souls.

Ninth. The European nations protect the slave-trade and slavery by legislation and treaties, and follow it up most vigorously as the foundation of their **African and American commerce** for upward of two and a half centuries.

In elucidating the second point, that of the culminating period of commercial slavery in America, which period may be said to run from 1775 to the first of the nineteenth century, the following facts are stated :

First. The entire **American continent**, with the **West India islands**, was slave territory.

Second. The entire labor or service in all that part of the world was performed by negro and Indian slaves.

Third. All the exports were the products of slave labor.

Fourth. By royal edicts, legislative enactments and common law, the right of man to own property in man was protected throughout America in the strongest manner possible.

Fifth. All the European nations having possessions in America, were actively engaged in the slave-trade, and in supplying their colonies with slaves.

Sixth. The moral, legal, territorial, industrial and commercial status of slavery was complete throughout America.

Seventh. The number of negro slaves was, in

1790	3,063,138
Ditto, Indian slaves,	7,000,000
	<hr/>
Total, slaves,	10,063,138

Estimated number of free civilized inhabitants
on the American continent and West India
Islands in 1790

	6,000,000
	<hr/>
Excess of slaves over free inhabitants	4,563,138

The third point—the decline of Commercial Slavery in America—is represented in the following facts:

First. Initiatory measures of abolition by Rhode Island in 1770 ; by Virginia in 1778 ; by Pennsylvania in 1780 ; by Maryland in 1783 ; by Connecticut in 1784 ; by North Carolina in 1786 ; by Canada in 1793 ; in all of which slavery became gradually extinct, except in Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina.

Slavery abolished in Massachusetts in 1783 and in New Hampshire in 1792. Slavery prohibited in the Northwest Territory by Ordinance of 1787.

Second. Slave-trade abolished by Denmark in 1803 ; by the United States in 1808 ; by England in 1808 ; by Holland in 1814 ; by France in 1819 ; by Spain in 1822 ; by Portugal in 1823 ; by Brazil, 1850.

Third. The liberation of the aborigines inhabiting Spanish America and held in slavery, numbering 7,000,000 and upward, during the Spanish American revolutions, extending from 1810 to 1825.

Fourth ; The abolition of negro slavery by New Grenada and Venezuela in 1823 ; by Guatemala, comprising the Central American States, in 1824 : by La Plata gradually, commencing in 1813 ; by Mexico and Yucatan in 1829 ; by Chili in 1833. By Peru gradually, commencing in 1821, and becoming extinct in 1855.

Fifth. The abolition of slavery in the English colonies by England in 1834, by which 781,697 slaves were liberated ; the abolition of slavery in the French colonies by France in 1848, by

which 239,937 slaves were liberated ; the abolition of slavery in the Danish Colonies by Denmark in 1848 ; the abolition of slavery in the Swedish Colonies by Sweden in 1847 ; the abolition of slavery in Dutch Guiana by Holland in 1851.

Sixth. The measures taken by the government of Brazil, in accordance with public opinion, to substitute free for slave labor, by which slavery is gradually becoming extinct in that great empire.

Seventh. The decline of slavery in the American States of Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and in Western Virginia ; the settlement of Western Texas by free laborers, and the general decay of the institution throughout the South, as elucidated by the U. S. census statistics.

Eighth. The total disappearance of the moral status of slavery throughout the civilized world.

GRAND RESULTS.

The following are the grand results which thus far indicate the decline of commercial slavery in America :

Area of the American Continent and West Indian Islands, all slave territory up to 1783		Square Miles.
		14,130,208
Present area of slave territory in America.	Square Miles.	
Brazil	2,973,406	
Cuba and Porto Rico	46,258	
Southern States, U. S.	875,012	
	3,894,676	14,130,208
		3,894,676
Gain of free upon slave territory in America since 1783		11,235,532
Slave population in 1790, Negro		3,063,138
Indian		7,000,000
Free civilized population in America 1790	6,000,000	
	6,000,000	10,063,138
		6,000,000
Excess of slave above free civilized population in America, 1790		4,063,138

Free civilized population in America, 1860,	.	.	.	65,000,000
Slave population in America, 1860 :				
Southern States, U. S.	.	.	.	3,999,353
Brazil	.	.	.	2,800,000
Cuba	.	.	.	330,425
Porto Rico	.	.	.	50,000
				<hr/>
			7,179,778	65,000,000
				7,179,778
				<hr/>
Excess of free civilized population over slave population in				
America, 1860	.	.	.	57,820,222

We cannot, at this moment, give with any degree of accuracy the amount of exports from all America during the latter part of the eighteenth century, when slavery was universally prevalent. It is sufficient to know that they were all the product of slave labor, a large amount being in the precious metals taken from the mines in Spanish America by the Indian slaves.

The amount of exports from America, in 1860, may be stated with accuracy, in round numbers, at	.	.	.	.	\$700,000,000
Of this amount, slave products are :					
Brazil,	.	.	.	.	\$50,000,000
Cuba,	.	.	.	.	44,000,000
Porto Rico,	.	.	.	.	6,000,000
Southern States, U. S.,	.	.	.	.	150,000,000
					<hr/>
				\$250,000,000	\$700,000,000
				.	250,000,000
					<hr/>
Excess of free over slave labor in articles of export,	.	.	.	.	\$450,000,000

This is a gain of nearly two-thirds in free over slave labor, within sixty years.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The extent of the slave-trade, from 1500 to 1850, a period of 350 years, we estimate as follows :

	Number of negroes imported into America per annum.	Total.
From 1500 to 1525,	500	12,500
From 1525 to 1550,	5,000	125,000
From 1550 to 1600,	15,000	750,000
From 1600 to 1650,	20,000	1,000,000
From 1650 to 1700,	35,000	1,750,000
From 1700 to 1750,	60,000	3,000,000
From 1750 to 1800,	80,000	4,000,000
From 1800 to 1850,	65,000	8,250,000

Total importation of negro slaves into America during a period
of 350 years 13,887,500

We put forth this estimate with the remark, that any statement of the number of negro slaves imported into America since its discovery by Columbus, must be based mainly on conjecture, guided by such facts as can be gathered in history. In the first place, no thorough or complete official records of this traffic were kept by the nations engaged in it. Their interests in the business required a suppression of definite information relative to its prosecution. Those companies who held the legal monopoly of the trade, invariably transcended the prescribed limits, and it is well known that outside parties—the *contrabandistas*—imported far more slaves than the legal monopolists. Special privileges—such as taking a certain number of negro servants and laborers to the New World—were also granted to Spanish discoverers, conquerors and colonists. In numerous ways, therefore, the number of negro slaves taken to America reached an amount, every year, of which the various parties engaged in the trade, and the authorities, were entirely unconscious; and in giving in round numbers, say 14,000,000, as the sum total of negro slaves imported into America, we are probably below the mark rather than above it.

But now, the only remaining trade in slaves is with Cuba, and the importation cannot exceed 10,000 per annum, and in a very few years the trade will probably be entirely extinct; and then, according to our calculation, the progressive working of the inexorable laws that regulate capital and

labor, will peacefully exterminate slavery among the commercial nations within fifty years.

CONCLUSION.

The foregoing history of the **RISE AND DECLINE OF COMMERCIAL SLAVERY IN AMERICA** has been written within a period of time too limited, and in the midst of business occupations much at variance with a work of this nature. Consequently, we have not been able to give the subject that extensive research and careful study which its magnitude and importance demand. Such facts as are given, however, we believe can be fully relied on as correct. The line of argument running through these facts is another matter. Readers will coincide or dissent as their judgment or their prejudices dictate. What is written herein is addressed to the common sense of peoples, without regard to the prejudices of party, sect, or nation.

Any discussion of the Missouri Compromise, the Wilmot Proviso, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Lecompton or Anti-Lecompton, etc., etc., has been purposely omitted, as they are considered outside issues—so many bread pills, in fact, administered to the patient who imagined himself sick, and having no effect whatsoever on the extension or restriction of slavery in this country.

In writing the history of Commercial Slavery in America, the first endeavor has been to exhibit the rise and decline of the institution in all the nakedness of truth—how it arose, in the first place, on the necessity created by cruelty and injustice, and was sustained by the superstitious notion that the heathen descendants of Ham were destined to serve the Christian descendants of Japhet—and how it declined, and is declining, in obedience to the common law of nations and of society.

The great motive in writing this history has been to expose the folly of the postulate set up by the South that slavery can go here and go there, and the acceptance of that

postulate by the North. This is the false issue upon which the Union was dissolved. The Abolitionists created it in the first place, and the unprincipled politicians called into existence by that class of fanatics have kept it alive for their own selfish purposes, and it is still their great political hobby.

The postulate we set up is, that *slavery has got its limit on this continent ; that so long as the slave-trade is kept down, no amount of favorable legislation, and a bounty added thereto, can carry slavery into any of the United States territory where slavery does not already exist, or into the countries beyond it.*

When we have the great fact in view, that with all the excitement, all the legislation upon the institution, *pro* and *con.*, practical slavery has not gained one foot in acquired territory since the purchase of the territory of Louisiana, by Mr. JEFFERSON, in 1803, except a corner of Texas, but, on the contrary, has lost a large part of what was originally slave territory, it passes our comprehension how an intelligent people, as the Americans are said to be, can be wrought up to the delirious point of self-destruction over a phantom issue, by wicked fanatics and unprincipled politicians. But such, in our view, is the fact ; and unless the American people pause and reflect, unless the public mind educates itself anew, and takes an entirely different course of thought and action than that which it has been led to adopt for the last thirty years, the present generation is lost past all redemption.

The prospect now is, that this ruinous struggle over a hypothesis will be carried into Mexico, and the foregoing history of slavery in America has been written with special reference to the question of extending the institution over the neighboring republic, a question now uppermost in the public mind, and one which has a direct bearing on the question, "*Is Mexican nationality destined to be extinguished ?*" a subject opened in MEXICAN PAPERS, No. 4, and which we desire may be considered as continued in this publication.

The public mind in the North is kept in a feverish state of excitement, by announcements, through the press, that the South is devising ways and means to establish slavery in New

Mexico, Arizona, Southern California, Lower California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Tamaulipas, all of Mexico, Central America, etc., etc. The entire press of this country is absorbed in the discussion of the subject of slavery extension by the Southern Confederacy. By reason of the marvellous ignorance of the North relative to the South, the countries adjoining, and the question of slavery generally, the public mind here is made to run in this channel, without let or hindrance.

With the wretched Kansas struggle fresh in the mind, it appears impossible that a people not utterly demoralized, morally and politically, should suffer themselves to be led into the support of the continuance of that struggle on a more extended field.

Kansas belongs for the most part to that barren slope of the Rocky Mountains east, which extends far down into Mexico, and in climate, soil, etc., comes within what may be termed the range of eccentrics. A fruitful season in the limited arable sections is more the exception than the general rule.

Here, when the hand of Providence had written in characters too plain to be misunderstood, "*slavery shall not come*," the South, stimulated to audacity by abolition, attempted, in the intensity of political fanaticism and selfishness, to establish the peculiar institution. The North, with equal political fanaticism and selfishness, strongly impregnated with religious fanaticism, took up the gauntlet thrown down by the South, and thus the two political parties, ignoring the laws of nature—of God—enter upon a contest, which history must portray as one of the most disgraceful that can be found in the annals of civilized nations.

A horde of border ruffians from the South, of that lawless class usually found on every frontier, and owning few or no slaves, are the Kansas pioneers of the slavery propagandists. They are met by the same class of border ruffians from the North, the emissaries of abolition, with the addition of a very worthy class of eastern emigrants, fitted out and induced

to emigrate to Kansas under the auspices of Emigrant Aid Societies, by holders of corner lots, and Kansas land speculators generally, in the East. These are the parties, and these the elements that made up the Kansas strife, the motive of which on the part of the originators on either side, had nothing to do with any principle of justice, humanity or philanthropy.

All the favorable legislation in the world, with a bounty of fifty dollars per head on every slave taken to Kansas, would not have established practical slavery in that territory. And yet, Kansas is the Abolition Mecca. "I am on a pilgrimage to Kansas where the battle of freedom was fought and won; I must see Kansas before I die!" said the great demagogue of the day, on his stumping tour in the West, just before the election.

What hope is there for a country that gives itself up to such stupid, canting demagogism as this? We have none.

Freedom or slavery had no more to do with the contest in Kansas, than republicanism or monarchy had to do with the contest between HEENAN and SAYERS. There was a great deal more to commend in the Farnborough than in the Kansas fight, and the abolitionists would appear to better advantage consecrating the sod of the Farnborough ring to plug-uglyism with their crocodile tears, than canting about the battle of freedom having been fought and won in Kansas.

But it appears almost certain that this ruinous Kansas struggle over a miserable abstraction will be carried into other lands, to the hazard of creating complications which must end in terrible wars, and a reconstruction of the entire map of America.

We believe that those who have perused the previous numbers of the MEXICAN PAPERS, and who feel interest enough in the subject to examine the present number, will be able to fully comprehend its politics and its policy. We know of no existing political party in the country to which the publication can be said to belong; and we know of no

political journal from Maine to California, that can, consistently with its partisanship, give favorable publicity to our facts and arguments. They ignore our postulate that slavery is on the decline, past all human power of resuscitation, and either laud the institution as one of divine origin, just and beneficent, or they sustain the abolition party now in power, which would, if it could get the means, carry fire and sword to every hearth-stone in the South, in the accomplishment of its fanatical purposes.

Our political position, we acknowledge, is *sui generis*, and we have no expectation that the sentiments of this publication will meet with much favor at the present moment. Years hence, when this ruinous struggle has done its perfect work, there may be those who will duly appreciate the fanatical folly of the past.

At the last Presidential election, we sympathized with the smallest party in the struggle, that ridiculed by the abolitionists as the "old woman's party"—the Bell-Everett party. We sympathized with everything opposed to the Republican candidate, believing his election would prove exactly what it has proved—*the death-knell of the Union!* We desired most ardently that another four years might pass without an abolition success, believing such a flood of light would be thrown upon the subject by new developments in our own and in the surrounding countries, as to ward off the ruinous issue forever.

We regarded the McLane-Ocampo (Mexican) treaty as the basis of the most important of these developments. So thought the fire-eating and abolition politicians, and they trampled it beneath their feet in the Senate of the United States. Senators HAMMOND and WIGFALL were conspicuous in this matter. Senator WILLIAM H. SEWARD, now Secretary of State, opposed this treaty with great bitterness, both openly and secretly. Senator HANNIBAL HAMLIN, now Vice-President of the United States, declared: "*My right arm shall be cut off inch by inch, before I will vote for that Mexican Treaty.*"

Had that Mexican treaty been ratified and put in immediate operation, some of the most dangerous complications which now threaten us, never could have arisen.

But Providence decreed that the present issue should come, and every true-hearted American must accept the result in deep and bitter sorrow.

We contend that there is no greater indication that society has advanced, than the ground now maintained by the civilized world, in relation to the question of human slavery. The moral support it derived from an ancient superstition has disappeared, and this, with the economical working of natural causes, is letting the institution down by the run. That SILENT REVOLUTION, based on the steam engine, the electric telegraph, in short, the application of science to mechanics, is doing more than all other causes combined to overthrow those degrading superstitions that have enthralled the world so long.

Taking this view of the matter, we contend that the American Union has been broken up on the assumption, by the two great political parties, that nature can be made to turn back upon herself—that God can be forced to retrace his footsteps by *human legislation*; and on this assumption the country is going to ruin with fearful velocity.

The Republican party came into power on this assumption, consequently, it cannot stand up to any principle of its platform, and has no moral force. The Republican administration does not appear to have sufficient common sense to judiciously wield any moral power, even could they command it. We have no faith that those who have so recklessly run the ship of State upon the breakers, will ever bring her to safe moorings, and the total failure of the present administration in Washington, is a foregone conclusion. If their bungling statesmanship does not induce anarchy that will drive them from their seats before their legal term of office has expired, they may consider themselves exceedingly fortunate.

The Southern Confederacy came into existence on the

same assumption as that of the Republican party, and as a confederacy based on slavery, we have no confidence in its ultimate success. But for the time being, it has advantages over the North; first, *it derives a moral power from the revolutionary right given it by abolition.* It also derives an additional advantage from greater unity and energy of action, and superior statesmanship. The great commercial nations of Europe, in consideration of their material interests, will be forced, not only to recognize the independence of the Southern Confederacy, but they must support that confederacy by force of arms against northern abolition. Though this may not prevent war and anarchy, it will serve the purpose of the South, for the moment, in establishing a political existence; and in due time, if peace prevails, a sensible regard for their material interests, will doubtless induce them to provide for the decent and peaceful death and burial of slavery.

We do not believe such statesmen as DAVIS, TOOMBS, STEPHENS, IVERSON, and others in the South, have any faith in the permanency of a government or society based on slavery, notwithstanding their bold assumptions to the contrary at this moment. Their intention is, doubtless, to get beyond the reach of abolition dictation, and then provide for emancipation in a safe and wise manner.

Notwithstanding the recent speech of the Hon. A. H. STEPHENS, lauding his new government above all others, because it is based on slavery, we do Mr. STEPHENS the credit to believe that he hates the institution most cordially. If there is a *genuine* hatred of slavery anywhere, it is in the South. There they curse the institution from the bottom of their hearts; but one of the effects of Northern abolition has been to turn this hatred of slavery into the determination to sustain it at all hazards, right or wrong. Northern abolition has closed the Southern mind, and shut out all calm and judicious contemplation of the subject, and we believe the South will sink negroes, cotton, lands, and country, before submitting to the dictation of such characters as GARRISON, PHILLIPS, the TAPPANS, FRED. DOUGLASS, GIDDINGS, GREELEY,

LINCOLN, SEWARD, and a host of lesser lights in the black army of abolition. Our knowledge of the spirit that animates these parties, and our appreciation of the luxury of independence, causes us to sympathize, heart and soul, with the South on this point.

There are, doubtless, some in South Carolina who believe heaven is based on slavery ; nevertheless, we venture to assert it as our belief, that in the ordinary course of events, South Carolina will be the first State of the present Southern Confederacy to initiate measures of emancipation.

But whatever may be the relative condition and position of the two confederacies as they now stand, it is useless to deny that the condition of affairs in both sections is in the highest degree perilous. It appears to us that the American people do not comprehend the magnitude of the revolution that is progressing with such tremendous strides. This revolution struck us at a moment when the country was saturated, so to speak, with money and produce—in the very highth of our material prosperity. But the process of draining has already commenced, and in small and unseen rills, the national wealth is beginning to trickle away. Another year may bring pinching want where plenty now abounds. Our prestige, as a power on earth, is gone, and henceforth Americans will go abroad among the nations, hanging their heads with shame, and exposed to insult and scorn.

There is a moral anarchy now prevailing among us that is the sure forerunner of the clash of arms. Complications of vast import are coming up out of the dark future, and monster phantoms are hovering about, pointing to the fleets of every commercial nation in Europe in our southern waters and the Gulf of Mexico, and their armies on Mexican territory, where we shall all be involved in the fierce struggle of nationalities, unless the fratricidal strife now raging in the United States is at once brought to an end.

But at the present moment this seems scarcely possible. Abolitionism has divided us not only politically, but it has cleft the great American heart in twain. Whether it can

ever be reunited, God only knows. Not until abolitionism is put down, shall we have the slightest hope that anything of the kind can be accomplished. Not until the disorganizers of society, known as abolitionists, agrarians, free-lovers, socialists, etc., etc., with all their *isms*, hatched out by the pestilential heat of licentious liberty in this republic, are *squelched*, shall we have any faith that fraternity, peace, and prosperity can be restored to our unhappy country.

We rest in the hope that a great *white* Republican party—a party purified of the negro and his pestiferous surroundings, and devoted to the great and common interests of our great and common country, will rise up and capture it from the political harpies who are now revelling in its life-blood.

In our general remarks upon the Republican party, we are not unmindful of the fact that a large portion utterly repudiate abolition, and voted the Republican ticket in all sincerity and good faith to the country, entirely unconscious of the mischief their leaders were perpetrating. There are also prominent individuals in this party whom we know and respect, and whose friendship we cherish; but who, from some unfortunate combination of circumstances, have been induced to pursue a course in politics which we feel confident they will regret in the future.

To all such, we would not say one word to irritate or offend, and we trust they will so understand it.

But there are leaders in this party—those who have crawled to power by dark and devious ways, subverting patriotism, and striking down by stealth every noble object that stood between them and their wicked designs, and whose greatness and power are derived only from their country's ruin—for whom we have no soft or palliative words. They have robbed us of our honest pride, as an American citizen, and for this alone, we deem it an imperative duty to do all that lies in our power to send their names down to posterity in unutterable infamy.

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